THE PROGRESSIVE

The Campaign Begins

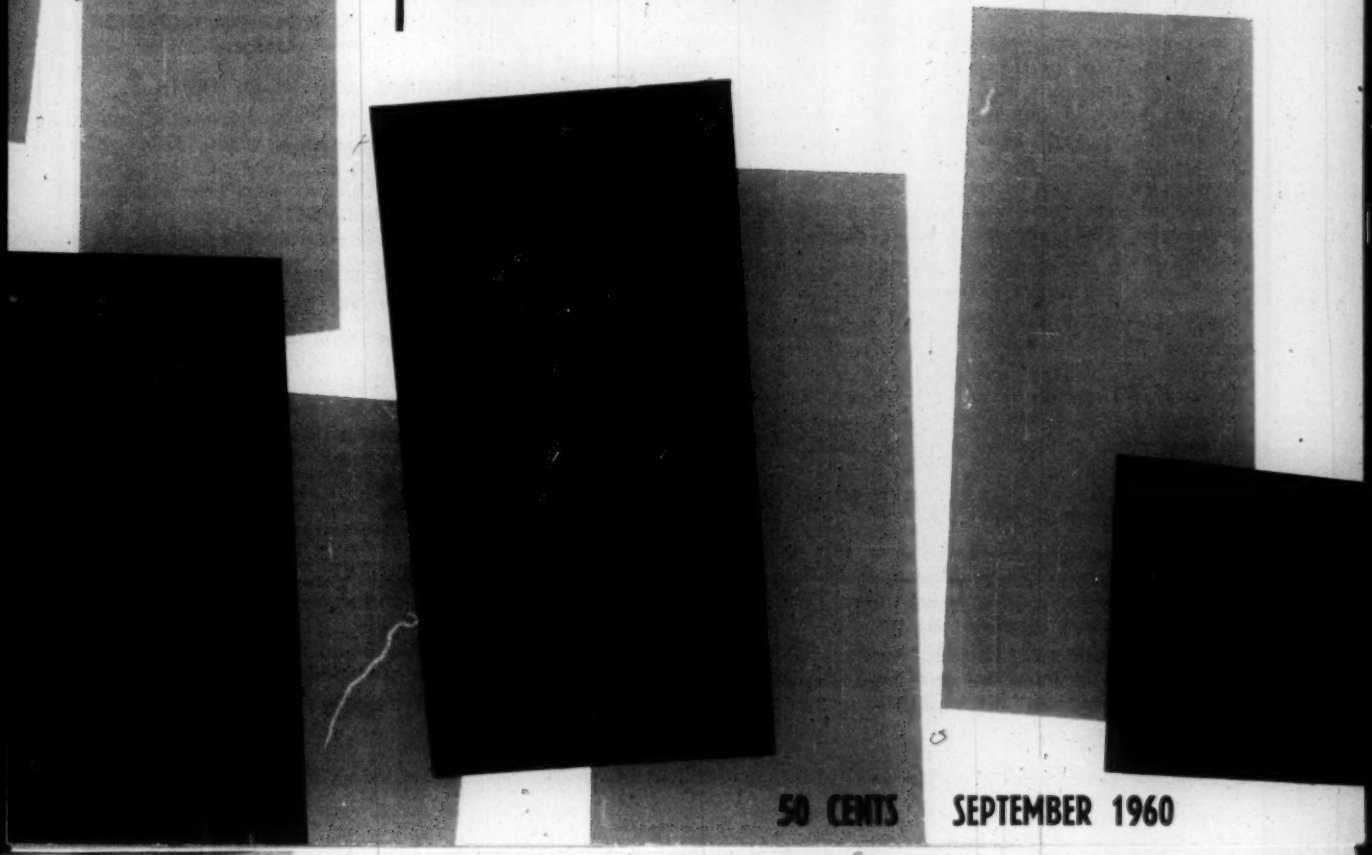
THE BIG ISSUE Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

KENNEDY and McCARTHY James M. Burns

THE UNCOMMITTED Murray Kempton

THE MEN AROUND KENNEDY Karl Meyer

THE SOUTH DIVIDED Lyman Jones



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Office memo

"*The Progressive*," writes Professor William Minor of Morgantown, West Virginia, "was the best source for the study of issues in social philosophy in my courses at West Virginia University during the past year, and we look forward to using it again this year. This decision has been made only after careful analysis of all similar publications." And from Manteca, California, high school history teacher Maurice Wood reports, "I am impressed by *The Progressive* as reading for my students. It allows them to see that there is a side to the political picture other than that presented in *Time* and *U. S. News*." Swarthmore College students Peter Euben and Richard Evans tell us, "We are both extremely impressed by the quality of *The Progressive*, and greatly appreciate the attempt at intelligent, objective, yet interesting reporting, so lacking in most national magazines."

These three comments reflect the consensus of scores of letters we have received in the past several months from students and teachers in high schools and colleges from Maine to Hawaii. It is this kind of response that has encouraged us to expand our low-cost school subscription program, already at an all-time high in circulation.

Because we are aware of the limited finances of teachers and students, it has always been *The Progressive's* policy to make the magazine available for classroom use at the bare cost of the paper and printing. There are long-range dividends for *The Progressive* in this policy. A great many of our readers were introduced to *The Progressive* in their student days and have been loyal subscribers ever since. One of the nation's outstanding social scientists told us recently that he has been a subscriber for more than two decades as a result of the deep impression *The Progressive* made on him during his college years.

For the school term beginning in September, we are offering *The Progressive* at $1 per student per semester (five months), when there are ten or more subscriptions going in a single bundle to one address. This is a slight increase over last year's school price, but it is only enough to cover rising production expenses and still represents a cost of considerably less than half the regular price. Any high school, college, or adult study group may take advantage of this bulk order rate.

Free sample copies of this issue of *The Progressive* are available in reasonable quantity to those interested in arranging a classroom subscription order. There is no obligation if the order does not materialize.

Teachers, students, and study groups should address their orders or inquiries to School Department, *The Progressive*, Madison, Wisconsin.

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THE PROGRESSIVE makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its general policies. Signed articles, therefore, do not necessarily represent the opinion of the management of the magazine.

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PROGRESSIVE

"YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH
AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE"

The Quiet Campaign

AN AIR OF disengagement seemed to hang over the Presidential campaign in the late summer. Most people we know, including those whose minds are made up, were watching the contest with considerable interest but without a compelling sense of identification with either candidate. They had been deporting themselves much like spectators who had come to appraise the style and skill of two crack tennis professionals rather than like the cheering fans who shout themselves hoarse at high school and college football games.

This impression is not unique with us. Wandering through the wheat and corn country of the Middle West, Rowland Evans, Jr., reported back to the New York *Herald Tribune* that he found "significant signs in North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin that many voters are not happy with either of the two Presidential candidates. Quite a large percentage of voters, while expressing a preference between Nixon and Kennedy, seemed cool toward both."

Eric Sevareid, the distinguished radio and television commentator now turned newspaper columnist, found much the same mood in the East. "So far," he wrote, "all that Nixon and Kennedy have received from the American people is what Damon Runyon used to call the 'medium hello.' Members of both parties have clapped on command, but in his heart every other Republican I know is a little uneasy aout Nixon; every other Democrat I know is a little uneasy about Kennedy."

The Gallup Poll summed it up for the whole country when it reported in mid-August that "interest in this year's political contest is below that recorded at a comparable point in 1952 and 1956." In 1952, for example, 52 per cent of those polled said they had given "much thought to the election for President" as contrasted with 40 per cent at the same time in 1960.

Why? What accounts for this wave of massive non-enthusiasm? The answer is not easy to come by. We suspect that part of it lies in the character of the candidates themselves—most of all absence of the kind of contagious passion and deep commitment that kindle fervor and endow a crusade with the indispensable ingredient of flaming purpose. Whatever else they may think of Vice President Nixon and Senator Kennedy, most Americans see both as men who are cool and calculating. Men of measured merriment, Sevareid quoted Thomas Wolfe, and of measured tears.

Another piece of the answer, we think, is to be found in the mood of America. As a nation, we have spent much of the last seven and a half years dozing by the barbecue grill in the backyard while Papa Eisenhower waved reassuringly from the golf course. The coming of a Presidential campaign without Papa and his euphoric platitudes symbolizes for many Americans the end of a long vacation from reality. They find themselves waking fretfully to the clamor of the now, not so distant drums of a world in revolution.

Justus in The Minneapolis Star

"Do You Hear a Trumpet?"

Finally, the prevalence of a feeling of non-involvement among so many voters stems in part from the absence, thus far, of sharp, easily identifiable issues that dramatically divide the candidates and their parties. "I have gone over Senator Kennedy's record and my own," said Nixon in Los Angeles recently, "and I find a great deal of similarity." On the return flight from his campaign tour of Hawaii, Nixon returned to the same theme. Briefing newsmen on his concept of the campaign, he said his two greatest difficulties are that the Republicans are a minority party and that Kennedy is more of a glamor boy than he is. His greatest need, Nixon confided to the correspondents, "is a real live issue that has not yet been developed."

It is not true, as Nixon sought to suggest, that there are no significant differences between his record and Kennedy's or that there are no major issues dividing Democrats and Republicans. It is true, however, that the significant differences—for example, "The Big Issue" analyzed by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., on Page 9 of this issue of *The Progressive*—have not been presented to the country in terms that are forceful and graphic enough to provide the electorate with the conviction that it is being offered a meaningful choice.

Nixon is painfully aware that his cause is hopeless unless he can attract a respectable proportion of the independent vote. That is why, in his campaigning thus far, he has been on

his good behavior, eschewing the low road which was his beat for so long. That is why he has sought skillfully, and not without some success, to blur the differences between the two parties by dipping some of the Republican platform planks in the language of liberalism.

Nixon's most significant success in this venture came in the field of civil rights. Responding to a massive shove forward from New York's Governor Rockefeller, the Vice President succeeded in wringing a plank from the platform committee that was respectable enough to earn an approving response from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and give him a fighting chance in the sometimes decisive Negro precincts of New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

Elsewhere on the domestic front, however, Nixon and his party emerged from the Chicago convention with little or nothing to attract the independent liberal. In the fields of national economic growth, aid to education, and social welfare, the Republicans edged ever so slightly toward a more liberal stance, but the overall result was the adoption of planks which lack both the progressive content and the militant approach of the Democratic platform. It is in this area that the voters will have the most clear-cut choice on November 8.

The division, however, is far less apparent on the great issues of foreign policy. Both parties have solemnly affirmed that the problems of foreign policy overshadow all others, but neither has articulated anything that resembles a basic break with the inflexible pattern of cold war strategy that has dominated our approach to world affairs in recent years.

A study of the two platforms reveals that the Republican document is somewhat shriller than the Democratic planks and more deeply rooted in military emphasis, but not greatly different on most fundamentals. Where differences do exist, the Democratic version, in our judgment, is invariably superior to the Republican concept. Thus, both parties promise to adhere to existing treaty obligations, but the Republicans cling stubbornly to the status quo while the Democrats promise to "review our system of pacts and alliances in a world of change." Both parties support the continuance of foreign aid, but the Democrats place much greater emphasis on economic aid. ("We shall seek to shift the emphasis of our cooperation from military aid to economic cooperation.") Both parties again reject recognition of Communist China and her admission to the United Nations, but the Democrats "welcome evidence of a genuine desire of the Chinese Communists for a new relationship," while the Republicans do not seem to consider this within the realm of reason.

Our principal quarrel with the position of both parties is their obsessive reliance on an ever greater accumulation of military power at a time when the dominant issues are political, economic, social, and moral. The country has been flooded with statements by politicians in both camps bidding up the budget for armaments. While Nixon & Company were assuring the nation of a military budget "second to none," Kennedy and his camp were raising the ante by two to three billion dollars.

Just about every politician who called on Kennedy at Hyannis Port emerged demanding greater arms expenditures. Averell Harriman came out calling for the earmarking of a couple of billion more for specific military purposes as a way of "jarring" Khrushchev. Chester Bowles appeared on the Kennedy doorstep announcing that "the overriding problem" was what could be done immediately to fill the military gap. Senator Stuart Symington gravely urged the need of at least "a couple of billions more." And their host, Senator Kennedy, called for an expanded military establishment. "I do not think there is any doubt that the vigor which Mr. Khrushchev has displayed around the world," he said, "is due to his conviction that the balance of power is shifting to the Sino-Soviet bloc."

How can the expenditure of a couple of billion dollars more for military hardware redress the balance when the Kremlin achieves its most spectacular gains by the skillful use of men, money, and propaganda in the underdeveloped countries? How can adding a couple of billion dollars of firepower unsnarl the mess in Cuban-American relations, or cope with the crisis in the Congo, or regain our stature in Japan, or bring Laos back to the fold?

Kennedy—and Nixon, too—is rattled by "the vigor which Mr. Khrushchev has displayed around the world," but both fail to realize that it is his vigor in responding to worldwide revolutionary thrust and not the violence of military power that shifts the balance to the Soviet bloc, if shift it has. The crude insults hurled at us by the Kremlin divert the Kennedys and the Nixons from the main show, which is the silken response of the Soviets to the hunger and hopes of the underprivileged peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Wherever in the world peoples are bent on independence and a better life, the Soviets appear with their technicians, educators, and administrators. They leave their missiles at home, and for the time being, their Communist ideology as well. They work with native nationalists, encouraging them in their quest for freedom and a higher standard of living. They play for the long-run dividend that they will be remembered and rewarded in strategic ways when the newly independent nation struggles to its feet.

The clearest and timeliest expression of the basic Soviet approach turned up recently in a series of articles from Cuba written by Tad Szulc for the New York *Times*. In a report that was bitterly anti-Castro and anti-Communist, Szulc made this revealing observation: "Communism has achieved its success in Cuba because it identified itself with the social revolution rather than expecting the revolution to become identified with it. The Social Popular Party, the Communist party in Cuba, has made no effort to preach Communist doctrine among Cubans, preferring to gain quiet acceptance and respectability while moving its members and sympathizers into important positions."

How do you cope with this sort of thing? No bombs, no rockets, not

even an old-fashioned blockbuster; just something called "identification with social revolution"—which baffles the boys in the Pentagon because they can't find it in their catalogue of weapons. Will "a couple of billion more" for the Pentagon close this "weapons gap"? The absurdity of the question is its answer, but Kennedy and Nixon, while paying lip-service to the need to appreciate and respond to the revolutionary aspirations of most of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, pour most of their fervor, such as it is, into the quarrel over which of the two candidates would most appreciate and respond to the insatiable demands of the Pentagon.

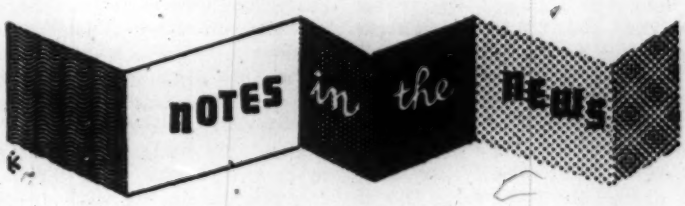
The platforms of both parties include solemn commitments to negotiate with the Soviet bloc. During the month following the conventions the Soviet bloc came forward with two proposals:

One—Russia's Premier Khrushchev suggested turning the next session of the United Nations Assembly, this fall, into a summit meeting on disarmament and other major issues. The State Department, shooting from the hip, dismissed the idea as "specious, cynical, and frivolous."

Two—Communist China's Premier Chou En-lai departed from the pattern of harsh intransigence which has characterized his country's approach to the West for so long by proposing a peace treaty with the United States and other nations that would create a zone free of nuclear weapons in Asia and the Western Pacific. The State Department's response again was automatic: "A meaningless propaganda gesture."

Given the record of recent utterances in Moscow and Peking, there were ample grounds to doubt the sincerity of the new overtures from the Soviet bloc and to suspect that either or both were mined with booby-traps. But we couldn't be sure. The statesmanlike approach, it seems to us, would have been to agree to examine and discuss both proposals to determine if they offered genuine hope for relaxation of tensions. Instead, we slammed the door, and the noise could be heard around the world.

Although both agree that the quest for peace is the greatest challenge that confronts the next Administration, neither Kennedy nor Nixon had a word to say when the State Department summarily rejected both proposals. The Vice President's silence is understandable; nothing was expected of him, for he is part of the team that made the decisions to rebuff the Communist overtures. But Senator Kennedy is now the leader of the opposition; his silence raises the grave question whether he is prepared to challenge the Republicans on the basic essentials of foreign policy and present affirmative alternatives to the rigidly negative course currently being pursued, or whether he will content himself with merely out-bidding his opponent in the realm of military spending. We earnestly hope he chooses the former road. That choice might do much to lift the cloud of disengagement that hangs over the campaign.



A Turn in the Road

The crisis in the Congo—a direct consequence of centuries of arrogant colonialism practiced by the mother country, Belgium—had taken a hopeful turn as we were going to press. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold had led his band of United Nations troops into the secession-minded province of Katanga, and the Belgian forces were pulling out in response to a United Nations demand in which both the United States and the Soviet Union had concurred.

It is too early to estimate the eventual outcome of the tragic conflict in the Congo; it is not too early to conclude that the United Nations has enjoyed its finest hour under Hammarskjold's brilliant leadership. "We are at a turn of the road," said this man of great restraint, "where our attitude will be of decisive significance, I believe, not only for the future of this organization but also for the future of Africa. And Africa may well in present circumstances mean the world."

The United Nations took the turn with flying colors. Pounded intermittently by bitter attacks from the Belgians, the Congolese, and the Russians, Hammarskjold, with Ralph Bunche riding in tandem, steered a steady, patient, impartial course until the United Nations prevailed. Premier Lumumba seemed bent on upsetting the settlement, and there may yet be a bloody renewal of the conflict. But whatever the outcome, the United Nations had established precedents bound to leave a lasting impact on the future of Africa.

The tragedy of the Congo is spelled out in many years of Belgian neglect—notably its failure to train Congolese in the arts of self-government. The role of the United Nations must be not only to prevent bloodshed, but to provide newly born countries with a pool of professionals to train natives in the skills so urgently needed in the new nations.

A Commission on Cuba

Senator Mike Mansfield, Montana Democrat, has uttered a wise and timely warning against the hasty adoption of a Latin American aid program that could be interpreted in Central and South America as a crude and callous scheme to buy their friendship while we are in desperate difficulties with Castro's Cuba. The Senate's Democratic whip proposed that the newly elected President embark on a "get acquainted visit" to Latin America before his inauguration in January. This is an excellent notion, but we would propose an additional step—the appointment by the President-elect of a commission of

distinguished Americans to investigate the whole sorry story of Cuban-American relations.

Somewhere something went terribly wrong. It is far too easy—and a far cry from the truth—to blame it all on the confiscation of American-owned property and the inclination of the Castro regime to work with the Kremlin. One of the principal objectives of a Presidential commission would be to determine if our own policies—especially our official coolness to the social revolution in Cuba long before it acquired Red trimmings—did not drive the Castro regime closer to the Communists.

I. F. Stone, a shrewd and able Washington editor, recently returned from a survey of Cuba with the report that the Cubans feel they were given the cold shoulder when they petitioned us for help in the early days of their revolution. For example, the modest request for a $3,000,000 loan for road building equipment and a $1,000,000 barter deal of Cuban chrome for corn to meet an urgent food shortage were turned down by our government in the formative days of the revolution.

One month after the revolution Castro sent a three-man delegation to Washington to explore the possibility of financial aid to bolster Cuba's depleted exchange reserves and make possible a program of industrialization, but the mission went home empty-handed. Castro himself, the Cubans complain, fished for an official invitation to Washington, but could not get one. When he came anyway, in April, 1959, President Eisenhower, who has decorated Latin American military dictators, did not receive the hero of the Cuban revolution. The Secretary of State received him in a hotel room to underscore the unofficial character of the visit. Castro and his ministers of economics and finance had hoped they would be asked how the United States could help, but all they got, Stone reported, were handshakes.

It is significant that it was shortly after they returned empty-handed that Castro and his associates decreed the confiscation of property belonging to Batista supporters and a little while later enacted the sweeping agrarian reform. Cuban officials told Stone that help from the United States might well have resulted in slower and more temperate reform. As late as February of this year, Castro offered to renew negotiations with the United States regarding compensation for expropriated U.S. properties if during the talks we did nothing to damage the Cuban economy (i.e., cut the Cuban sugar quota), but he was turned down.

This interpretation of developments in the decisive days of the Cuban revolution is widely shared in Cuba but little known in this country. It is the conviction of many a moderate Cuban that a helping hand and expressions of official cordiality by the United States would have made for a more moderate development of the revolution and for a policy of friendship for this country.

It is this background that needs to be investigated by a Presidential commission, for we shall never get back on the track until we learn how and why we left it. The danger that Cuba might become a Russian base is real, but we shall never meet that danger unless we try to find common ground with the Cubans. Any other policy will only convince them they have no alternative but to increase their dependence on the Soviet bloc.

The Neighbors Are Talking

The evidence continues to multiply that our policy toward Cuba is costing us a great deal of good will among our good neighbors south of the border. Reports to such bitter anti-Castro publications as the New York *Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* emphasize that countless Latin Americans with impeccable anti-Communist credentials and many reservations about the Castro revolution condemn President Eisenhower's drastic slash of the Cuban sugar quota and regard U.S. behavior as just another case of Washington's use of the specter of Communism to protect its economic interests.

There is mounting evidence, said the *Wall Street Journal* after a survey throughout Latin America, that there is "genuine sympathy among many Latins, not so much for Castro, but for what they believe he stands for: revolt against entrenched wealth and political power."

Support for Castro's social revolution is widespread in Mexico, as we reported here last month. A significant interpretation of the Mexican mood appeared recently in *The Christian Century*, written by Gonzalo Baez-Camargo, a Methodist minister and prominent Mexican churchman. "Mexico is as opposed as any country could be to Soviet domination," he wrote. "Communism simply is not wanted here. But the liberal and truly progressive forces of the country seem to believe—and their belief is worthy of serious consideration—that, paradoxically, only by being on Cuba's side, in sympathy and understanding, will it be possible to forestall that country's present leaning toward the U.S.S.R. For only by understanding the just and human core of the Cuban revolution is it at all possible to help its leaders see the great danger to that revolution in the insincere and treacherous 'friendship' of international Communism."

Voting Patterns

Scholars at the University of Michigan Survey Research Center have long been engaged in the scientific study of voting patterns in the United States. Their most recent survey has turned up these interesting conclusions on the behavior of the electorate:

¶ Between two-thirds and three-fourths of those who will go to the polls in November have their minds made up now.

¶ One-tenth of the voters will not decide until the last two weeks of the campaign.

¶ In general, the public is much more inclined to "throw the rascals out" than to reward a party for good performance in office.

¶ Americans who consider themselves Democrats outnumber Republicans by a three-to-two margin nationally, by a four-to-three margin outside the South.

¶ Although three out of four voters identify themselves with one of the two major parties, the independent vote is sufficiently great to decide the election.

¶ No matter how much candidates Nixon and Kennedy try to discuss issues, the electorate will evaluate them as personalities as much as spokesmen for a particular cause.

¶ Although both parties sought regional balance in selecting a Vice Presidential candidate, there is no

evidence from either the 1952 or 1956 election that the Vice Presidential candidates were better known or liked in their home regions than elsewhere.

Did Kennedy Buy the Nomination?

One of the most persistent political rumors this campaign year is that Senator Kennedy's father "bought" him the nomination for President by spending some $7,000,000. Nobody we know about bothered to explore the facts until the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, with characteristic enterprise, turned one of its Washington correspondents, Edward F. Woods, loose on the subject. Woods went to Kennedy headquarters where they "opened up their books"—the quotation marks were used by Woods—and found:

¶ A total of $912,000 was spent between January, 1959, when Kennedy's quest for the Presidency "was just getting off the ground," and July, 1960, when he captured the nomination.

¶ Of this total, more than half—$545,000—was contributed from "outside sources" during 1960, $90,000 came from the Senator's brothers and sisters and their spouses, $60,000 from Kennedy himself, and $24,000 from Kennedy's father and mother. There is a deficit of $217,000.

¶ In addition to their cash contributions, Kennedy's sisters, brothers, and in-laws have an investment of $385,000 in a twin-engine, specially-fitted plane for Senator Kennedy's use.

¶ The total expenditures do not take into account the "endowment" provided Kennedy by members of his family who worked without salary and paid their own expenses, including the substantial cost of maintaining headquarters in several strategic regions.

¶ There is a feeling among the Kennedy forces, Woods reported, "that winning the nomination with a reported outlay of less than $1,000,000 was like getting something at the bargain counter."

¶ Although figures directly comparable with other pre-convention campaigns are not readily available, Woods' researches would indicate that the Kennedy outlay, if accurately reported, was not unusually large. Thus, a study by the Brookings Institution estimated that the cash outlay for the Eisenhower drive for convention delegates in 1952 was $2,500,000.

Woods recalls that the rash of rumors of Kennedy vote buying reached its peak after Kennedy's victory over Senator Hubert Humphrey in the West Virginia primary last May. The rumors prompted Harry G. Hoffman, editor of the Charleston *Gazette*, to assign reporters to a statewide investigation of the election. His conclusion, and that of his reporters, was that the vote-buying charges were false.

"We sent two of our best men out on the story," Hoffman said. "They spent three to four weeks checking. Kennedy did not buy that election. He sold himself to the voters."

The High Cost of Tight Money

In the seven-year period preceding 1960, the American people laid out more than twenty-three billion dollars in excess interest payments as a direct result of the tight-money, high-interest policies pursued by the Eisenhower Administration. Furthermore, the Conference on Economic Progress reports, these policies depressed the American economy generally, stunted economic growth, slowed sorely needed housing construction, and created a new kind of artificial inflation, based on shortages of services and under-production.

In an impressively documented study of "Tight Money and Rising Interest Rates" prepared for the Conference under the direction of economist Leon Keyserling, evidence is presented that the average American family lost, in effect, $3,500 during this seven-year period, and that governments at all levels missed out on $65 billion in revenues because of the depressing economic effects of the tight-money, high-interest policies. If these repressive measures were to continue in force, the loss to the economy in the next five years would total $470 billion in national production and $125 billion in public revenues.

The report points out that current excess interest payments add up to nineteen times the President's proposed outlays for education in the 1961 fiscal budget, eleven times the expenditures for health, and twenty-four times the amount allocated for housing—a sharp contrast to the Administration claim that the economy "cannot afford" an expansion of social services.

The Keyserling report blames the tight-money policy for much of the recent chronic unemployment—now sixty per cent higher than in 1953—and the sharp rise in business failures, particularly among small businesses.

There are some conclusions in the Conference report which may be open to debate or modification. But there is at least one aspect of the Administration's policy which seems to us to provide conclusive documentation of its failure. This is the management of the national debt. A comparison of the Administration's four major goals with achievements in this area, after more than seven years, reveals vividly how self-defeating the tight-money policy has been.

The goal: To shift more of the debt from short-term to long-term obligations.

The result: The average length of the outstanding debt, far from being stretched, shrunk by more than twenty per cent. The proportion of securities maturing in less than one year jumped from thirty-three to forty-one per cent.

The goal: To transfer more of the debt from banks to individual bondholders.

The result: Bank holdings declined slightly, but there was not only no corresponding rise in individual holdings, but a decline here as well.

The goal: To decrease the size of the national debt.

The result: The debt rose from $260 billion in 1952 to $285 billion in 1959. The cost of servicing the debt, because of the high-interest policy, has risen twenty-eight per cent.

The goal: To bring more order and confidence into the government securities market.

The result: Government securities, traditionally the financial market's Gibraltar, have fluctuated in price as widely as stocks; speculation has become the rule rather than the exception; and several recent efforts of the U.S. government to borrow money have been, in the judgment of the *Wall Street Journal*, "failures."

But the evidence in the report that is most likely to drive home to the man on the street the cost of tight money is the example of its effect on home mortgages. As compared with 1952, a 1960 home buyer with a thirty-year, $10,000 mortgage, will pay $11,024 rather than $7,712 in interest, an increase of $3,312. This is a rise of more than forty per cent in interest costs, and is equivalent to a seven per cent sales tax on an average family's total expenditures for food.

The Wasteland

In 1956, the latest year for which detailed information on the subject has been published, approximately twelve million individuals and families with incomes of less than $3,000 a year squeezed out of their meager resources a total of two billion dollars with which to pay Federal income taxes. The Defense Department promptly took the money and threw it away.

The following year the Defense Department flushed down the drain all the individual Federal income taxes paid by all the people of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Delaware, South Carolina, Mississippi, Arkansas, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Alaska, and Hawaii—and the year after took, in addition, the taxes from Rhode Island, Iowa, and Kansas, and threw them away, too. Every year the story is the same.

These colossal sums do not represent what it costs to operate the Defense Department, or any part of it. These amounts are merely what Senator Paul Douglas calls "the appalling mismanagement and waste in the procurement system of the Defense Department," expenditures for which the taxpayer receives nothing in return.

Douglas estimates that at least two and as much as three billion dollars are wasted each year by the Defense Department, largely because of its system of purchasing eighty-seven per cent of war materials through "negotiated" contract rather than through competitive bid. Typical of the scores of items he cited to back his charges were lamp sockets for which the Navy paid $21.10 each, but which were available on the market for twenty-five *cents*; an Army-purchased wrench set for $29—market value, $4; an Air Force drill bushing: cost, $9.65; value, fifty cents.

Senator Douglas, a top flight economist, said he could bring to the floor of the Senate a hundred more items of this kind—they are not just a few "horrible examples." "Almost every time the Comptroller General investigates an area of negotiated contracts," Douglas pointed out, "he finds the government has been overcharged."

Two or three billion dollars has become a vague and meaningless sum to most people within the context of an eighty billion dollar budget and a $490 billion gross national product. But if Congress, and the President, and the people could come to realize that all the Federal income taxes of the one-fourth of our taxpayers who have the lowest incomes were being completely, unnecessarily wasted; if the Defense Department could somehow be made to develop a conscience about throwing away all the income taxes paid by the citizens of nineteen or twenty states, perhaps then this disgraceful waste could be stopped.

Tennessee Waltz

Senator Estes Kefauver's easy waltz to victory in Tennessee is a victory not only for liberalism in his home state, but a national stride forward in the fight for genuinely democratic government that responds to the political and economic needs of the people.

Judge Andrew (Tip) Taylor, Kefauver's arch-segregationist opponent, waged an unprecedentedly vitriolic, lavishly financed, below-the-belt campaign aimed at the Senator's excellent civil rights and civil liberties record, one of the best in either the North or the South. Unsigned smear sheets insinuated he was a Communist, a tool of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and an advocate of school integration by the use of bayonets.

But Tennessee voters saw through the smear and returned to the Senate a man who represents, as much as any man in public life, the economic and political interests of the great majority of the American people.

Kefauver's record over the dozen years he has been in the Senate has identified him clearly to the people of Tennessee as the political heir of such Senate guardians of the public interest as Bob LaFollette and George Norris. Senator Kefauver has made his name and reputation as the foremost detective in the nation. Using the device of the Senate committee investigation, Kefauver has ruthlessly rooted out the crime syndicate, the political racketeers, and the big business monopolists. He has attacked, on behalf of the consumer, administered and inflated prices in steel, automobiles, drugs and other consumer lines. As America's unofficial chief investigator Senator Kefauver has become known throughout the nation as a friend of the "common man." The people of Tennessee were responding to Senator Kefauver's persistent efforts in their behalf when they assured him a third Senate term by one of the greatest margins in his long political career.

Business As Usual

Fears of Southern merchants that desegregating lunch counters would result in a decline in trade have proved groundless, according to a survey by the Southern Regional Council. Store managers in twenty-nine cities now desegregated reported "business as usual or noted an increase."

"No store in the South," the Council's report continued, "which has opened its lunch counters to Negroes has reported a loss in business."

Furthermore, desegregation has been met with massive indifference, at least outwardly, on the part of both Negroes and whites. When five variety stores in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, opened their counters to all without discrimination, *Time* was able to report: ". . . whites and Negroes sat side by side without disorder, insults, or even stares, as if things had never been any different."

Commenting on the relatively swift progress of lunchroom desegregation, begun only six months ago, the Council said, "This shows that, given effective leadership, Southern communities can eliminate racial discrimination speedily, without long periods of litigation, uncertainty, and accumulating tension . . . Negro Southerners can be expected to increase their economic and moral pressures for equal treatment."

The Big Issue

by ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

This analysis of the basic issue confronting the United States was originally prepared by Mr. Schlesinger as a memorandum for private circulation among leading liberals in the nation. Mr. Schlesinger, professor of history at Harvard, is the author of a number of notable works on American history and politics. He served for a time as co-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action.—THE EDITORS.

Ill fares the land
To hastening ills a prey
Where wealth accumulates
And men decay.
—GOLDSMITH

ON NOVEMBER 8, the American people will choose a new President. In choosing a new President, they will choose the direction in which they want the United States to move in the next four years.

Now it is widely said that there are no real issues between the two parties—that Democrats and Republicans are in substantial agreement on national policies—that, so far as the main thrust of our national development goes, it really won't make much difference which party is in power after 1960.

It is the contention of this memorandum that there is a profound issue between the parties—an issue of national policy as clear-cut, as far-reaching, and as urgent as the one the nation faced in 1932—and that the electorate's decision in 1960 will therefore be of fateful import to our national future.

We are told, of course, that we have prosperity and that we have peace and that America is the richest and most powerful nation in the world and that, in the words of the Vice President, these have been "the best seven years" of our lives. Yet an increasing number of thoughtful Americans are not satisfied with this cheery statement of our national situation. More and more people have forebodings about the position and prospects of the United States in the decade ahead.

For one thing, the American people are growing restlessly aware that the United States is losing ground in the great world competition with the Soviet Union. We are still ahead in many ways, but this is mainly because we had an earlier start. As fast as we continue to move, the Communists seem to be moving even faster. As a result, they are steadily narrowing the gap between us. Even more alarming, in certain decisive categories of national strength—in new weapons, in the contest for space, in technical education, and in the rate of economic growth—the Soviet Union appears already (in Prime Minister Khrushchev's favorite phrase) to have "overtaken and surpassed" us.

The Communist competition is a hard fact of life, but it should not by itself be the determining motive of our national policy. We degrade ourselves when we permit the Communist challenge to drive us to do things which we ought to be doing anyway for our own sake. The determining motive of our national policy should be our own ideals and objectives; it should be the pursuit of excellence in our own way of life. This surely is the second source of our anxiety—the spreading awareness that we are even falling behind in making adequate provision for the welfare and opportunity of our own people and for the future of our children and thus of our nation.

Our national population has increased by nearly thirty million since 1950. Recollect for a moment that the total population of the United States in 1860 was only about thirty-one million. We have grown in the last decade by an amount nearly equal to our entire population one hundred years ago.

The annual appearance of three million new boys and girls automatically creates needs for new houses, new schools, new hospitals, new communities; the relentless expansion is straining our facilities to the utmost. And these new boys and girls constitute our most valuable natural resource. Our future will depend on their knowledge, their education, their health, their strength, on the opportunities open to them to develop their abilities. From the viewpoint not just of humanity but of national power, these children should be a major object of national investment.

It is precisely these new boys and girls who have been most forgotten during this decade. The Eisenhower Administration has made no systematic effort to enlarge our public services and facilities to keep pace with population growth. Quite the contrary: it has moved in the opposite direction. As a result of deliberate policy, the national government is spending a smaller share of our gross national product on public services and facilities today than it was a decade ago. While our population billows, our national leadership has made only the most feeble effort to enlarge our social overhead—education, medical care, housing, slum clearance, urban and suburban planning, social security, provision for the sick and the aging, roads, recreation, water, assistance to distressed classes and areas, resources and energy development—to assure decent opportunities for these new children. The whole quality of our national life is threatened by deterioration.

The sense of bafflement over these

slippages at home and abroad is compounded by the fact, constantly reaffirmed to us by our leaders as if it should silence all our doubts, that we remain the richest country known to human history. We are indeed stupefyingly rich. But is this enough? We seem to be dismayingly poor where it counts. We are approaching an annual gross national product of an unimaginable $500 billion a year. Yet out of this we are apparently unable to meet elementary national needs in either our foreign or our domestic policy.

Why is it that our fantastic abundance cannot enable us to remain safely ahead of the Communist world in national power?

Why is it that our fantastic abundance cannot enable us to provide decently for the education, health, and welfare of our own population and the quality of our national existence?

Why are we increasingly tormented as a nation by a series of "gaps"—the missile gap, the educational gap, the health gap, the housing gap, the poverty gap, the gap between our community life and our national hopes?

What it is essential to understand is that these gaps are not separate and unrelated questions. They are all aspects of the underlying issue on which the nation must make its decision in November.

What is this underlying issue? It can be most conveniently tagged by a useful but forbidding phrase cherished by economists. That phrase is the *allocation of resources*. It refers to the uses to which we put our national income. The reason our wealth, staggering as it is, does not give us security in the world or welfare and opportunity at home or hope for our future is to be found in the priorities according to which we allocate that wealth.

There need be no question about the theory which has governed the allocation of resources during most of the last decade. The Eisenhower Administration has again and again stated its conception of our proper national priorities. Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, recently told the Joint Economic Committee his theory of the American economy: "Its ultimate purpose is to produce more consumer goods. This is the goal. This is the object of everything that we are working at: to produce things for consumers." Not to produce better people or better schools or better health or better communities or better opportunities for cultural and spiritual development; not even to produce better guided missiles—but to produce more things to be sold at a profit—more gadgets and gimmicks to overwhelm our bodies and distract our minds.

The President of the United States has repeatedly identified himself with this position. In 1954 he laid down as a major goal of his Administration: "We will reduce the share of the national income which is spent by the government." He has been faithful to this pledge. One of the first consequences was the Revenue Act of 1954, which resulted in the transfer of some $7 billion ($10 billion in current dollars) from public to private spending.

President Eisenhower has lost few opportunities to reiterate this belief. As he put it last year: "Our federal money will never be spent so intelligently and in so useful a fashion for the economy as will the expenditures that would be made by the private taxpayer, if he hadn't had so much of it funneled off into the federal government." If this statement means anything, it means that the President of the United States seriously thinks that it is more "intelligent" and "useful" for the individual consumer to spend money for luxuries and frills, for a second car and a third television set, than for his government to spend it for education, for the fight against poverty, for national defense.

Vice President Nixon reaffirmed this position in his address January 27, 1960, in Chicago. He then said, after outlining his view of national objectives, "We Republicans have unshakable faith that the way to achieve these goals is by the free choice of millions of individual consumers."

The Eisenhower-Nixon thesis is definite and explicit. It is that the allocation of our resources should be determined by the way the consumer chooses to spend his money; or, to put it in another way, that the production of goods and services for sale to consumers properly enjoys first claim on the great bulk of our national wealth and talent.

In saying this, Eisenhower and Nixon imply that responsibility for any subsequent trouble lies with the individual consumer. This implication is characteristically unfair: the individual consumer is the victim, not the cause, of the situation. The moving force behind the Administration thesis is the alliance between the big producers, who live by the creation of consumer wants, and the big advertisers, who have mastered the technology of creating wants where none existed before. It is this alliance which finances and controls the Republican Party. Naturally a Republican Administration adopts its view that everything should be sacrificed to the sale of goods on the consumer market.

The Eisenhower Administration seems to have two other reasons for adopting the consumer-spending thesis.

One reason presumably is that the Administration approves of the allocation of resources that results from this thesis; i.e., that it considers our greatest national need today, not more public services, but more things for businessmen to sell to consumers, and consequently favors steering most of our talent and our resources into devising things for consumers and means to persuade consumers to accept them.

The second reason is that the Administration evidently feels that any deviation from the policy of maximizing private consumption would mean the end of a free economy and the destruction of the American way of life. President Eisenhower, in a recent press conference, seemed to say that there was no alternative to the present theory of resources allocation except totalitarianism. "If you take our country and make it an armed camp and regiment it, why, for a while you can—you might do it with great morale, too, if you could get people steamed up like you did in wars; you might do this thing most—well, in very greater tempo than we now are doing it. . . . Now, I think our people ought to have greater faith in their own system, go ahead on their own."

There is nothing wrong about wanting to do things for consumers. One great pride of the industrial age

is the democratization of comfort. Today all can aspire to decencies and amenities of life which were once reserved for aristocratic and wealthy elites. This represents one of the massive triumphs of history. No one would propose to end all that. Austerity as an end in itself is economic puritanism and to be avoided in all sensible nations.

And free consumer choice is fine. The ideal society would surely be one based on the greatest possible amount of unfettered individual choice.

These objectives are not at issue. The question is rather whether these should be the *dominating* objectives of our society in the next decade as they have been in the last—whether at this moment in history the United States is wise in acting as if the production and consumption of things for sale to consumers should be the central and all-absorbing end of our national existence, to which everything else is to be subordinated. Consumer goods as the underpinning of life are one thing: as the main object of life, quite another. We must decide whether we really want consumer spending to dictate our national priorities.

Herblock in the Washington Post

"We Feel Deeply About Education—Here's A Book"

There are two main objections to the Eisenhower-Nixon thesis that the overriding purpose of our national life ought to be to increase consumer spending.

The first is the *moral* objection. The basic premise of the consumer spending philosophy is that the needs of life are to be fulfilled through material opulence—that the way to achieve the promise of the Declaration of Independence and the American Revolution is to guarantee to every American producer and advertiser, before anything else, the sacred right to stampede consumers into buying their products. Under the consumer spending infatuation, we have almost worked ourselves into the state of mind that what cannot pay for itself in the market is hardly worth doing at all. Emerson summed up the consumer spending philosophy a century ago when he wrote, "Things are in the saddle/And ride mankind."

Is this really what the Founding Fathers fought the American Revolution for? Is this what the promise of American life is all about? Such a view surely represents a debasement of the American tradition, which is essentially a spiritual tradition. The ultimate point of American life is not the choking of people with material luxury. It is the development of the character of man and of the quality of the life he lives. Our concern has been not with *things* but with *people*—their identity, welfare, opportunity, and dignity.

When our President and Vice President tell us that money is spent more "intelligently" and "usefully" for things rather than for people, for private indulgence than for public need, and when one hears those same leaders go on to denounce the godless materialism of the Communists, it makes one wonder whether they are not doing so in the name of a godly materialism of our own.

If we accept their view of what America is all about, we will find ourselves in the condition feared by Walt Whitman—"It is as if we were somehow being endow'd with a vast and more and more thoroughly-appointed body, and then left with little or no soul."

The second objection to the Administration thesis is the *policy* objection. We are the wealthiest nation in the world; and some people think that this is enough to insure our strength and our survival. They could not be more wrong. The true question is not how much we have, but the uses to which we put it.

What have been the practical consequences of letting, in Vice President Nixon's words, "the free choice of millions of individual consumers" determine the allocation of our resources and talent?

It is precisely this theory which has produced the contemporary American paradox of public poverty in the midst of private plenty. It is precisely this theory which has given the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration the weird and intolerable conviction that the richest nation in human history cannot "afford" to do what must be done to maintain national strength and opportunity.

¶ Do we need an educational system worthy of our children? The Eisenhower-Nixon Administration tells us that we can't "afford" to invest more of our resources in schools.

¶ Do we need more doctors and nurses and hospital beds? We are told we can't afford to steer more of our resources into medicine.

¶ More than 32 million Americans are trying to live on less than $50 a week for a family of four. This includes one-fifth of our children. It includes eight million men and women over sixty-five. Do we need more public investment to fight the shame of private poverty? Oh, no—we can't afford it.

¶ Do we need better provisions for a decent community life? More slum clearance and urban renewal and suburban planning and housing and aid to depressed areas? More assistance to museums, art galleries, music, theater? More public support to improve the quality of our national existence? But we can't "afford" to do this sort of thing.

¶ Do we need to put more resources in our missile program and in our conventional warfare capability and in the contest for space? The Soviet Union, a much poorer nation, has three times as many intercontinental missiles and three times as large an army and is outstripping us in the stratosphere; but the Eisenhower-Nixon answer is that the United States can't "afford" to do more than it is doing.

¶ How about a proper resources and energy policy? Same answer. We cannot even "afford," to take a mini-

mum public service, to deliver mail to most homes more than once a day.

And yet, while we cannot "afford" to do these things, we exult in a consumer luxury never before known in the history of mankind.

During the decade of the Fifties, Americans spent three times as much money on advertising as they did on higher education. As a consequence of this investment of our wealth, every American today knows he can get a television set for his rumpus room, but few can be certain, even if they have the money, that they can get a college education for their son or daughter. Under the Eisenhower-Nixon theory, in short, our society is geared to producing television sets and rumpus rooms but not scientists or scholars. The three-to-one ratio in favor of advertising against higher education is exactly the kind of expenditure of our national wealth which President Eisenhower believes we *can* afford.

Plainly we can afford everything as a nation—except the things we desperately need.

Under the Eisenhower dispensation, where private interests have priority over public interest and everyone's making a fast buck is supposed to insure the common good, the public sector takes second place. While consumer goods heap up in our attics and basements, while our advertising system knocks itself out trying to create new wants which will require more and more private goods and services, while more and more of our resources are absorbed in the "style racket" and "designed obsolescence" and the consumer-spending merry-go-round, the public framework of society, on which everything else rests, is overstrained by population growth and undercut by neglect. Our cities rot away, our suburbs grow more chaotic, our schools more overcrowded, our teachers more underpaid, our roads more dangerous, our national parks more unkept, our air and our streams more polluted, our law enforcement more harried and unsatisfactory, a sixth of the nation lingers in scandalous poverty, our weapons development and foreign aid grow more tragically inadequate.

To sum up, under the Eisenhower-Nixon philosophy—

¶ We have used our wealth as much as possible for individual purposes and as little as possible for national purposes.

¶ We have used our wealth as much as possible for private purposes and as little as possible for community purposes.

¶ We have dedicated a major share of our national energy to inventing and satisfying consumer "wants" and expect to build national health, intelligence, and power out of what is left over.

What have been the consequences in these "best seven years" of our lives?

The result during these seven golden Republican years has been a shocking decline of the United States both as a world power and as a national community offering education, hope, and opportunity to its own rapidly growing population.

This has not been the result of inattention or accident. It has been the result of premeditated, settled, avowed, and defiant policy.

This decade of American decline has equally been the decade of Soviet rise. What accounts for the extraordinary progress made by the Soviet Union in the Fifties? The gross national product of the Soviet Union is still only about forty-five per cent of our own. Yet it has been making faster relative progress than we have in nearly every critical field of national power. There is here no "riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." The answer to the Soviet success is as plain as day. It lies in the power of the Soviet Union to focus its national energies. The visitor to Soviet Russia finds it frightening to see what energy a great nation can generate when it allocates its talent and resources according to an intelligent system of priorities.

It is instructive to compare the things on which the Soviet Union spends a larger share of its gross national product with the things on which the United States spends a large share of its GNP. The Soviet Union spends two to three times as large a share of annual GNP on defense and on education as we do in the United States. Our own beloved country, it need hardly be said, spends a much larger share of its GNP on such things as automobiles, cosmetics, and tobacco.

It is hard for people reared in the consumer spending ethos to understand the priorities of Soviet society. The American tourist who cries out in the lobby of a Moscow hotel, "These people can't even get me a ticket to Odessa! How can anyone suppose that they could send a rocket to the moon?" misconstrues the situation. He innocently supposes that service to the consumer is the ultimate test of economic and administrative efficiency. Khrushchev operates under no such illusion. The Soviet leadership thinks it important to send a rocket to the moon and not very important to supply tourists with tickets to Odessa, so they apportion their talent and resources accordingly. The able men work on rockets, the dopes on tickets. And one cannot but feel that, if they ever thought tickets to Odessa important, a shift in talent and resources would make Intourist the best travel service in the world.

If a quarter of the talent and resources now devoted in the United States to fabricating and titillating consumer wants were devoted instead to building the power and skill of the nation, we would have nothing to fear from Soviet competition. But, so long as we continue in the United States to prefer private indulgence to public need, so long as we allow consumer spending to determine how we use our national wealth, so long as we do not face up to the problem of a wise allocation of our national resources—so long the Soviet Union will continue to gain on us and eventually will overtake and surpass us. *Unless* we take swift action to reverse the policy of drift, *unless* we recover a sense of affirmative national purpose which will automatically gener-

ate a feeling that some things are more important than others, a future Gibbon will regard the Eisenhower-Nixon era as the downward turning point when he comes to write about the Decline and Fall of the American Republic.

Let us be clear about our situation. We are *not* in trouble because of forces beyond our control. We are *not* in trouble because we can't afford the talent and the resources to maintain national power. We are in trouble purely and simply because of the way we have *chosen* to employ our talents and resources.

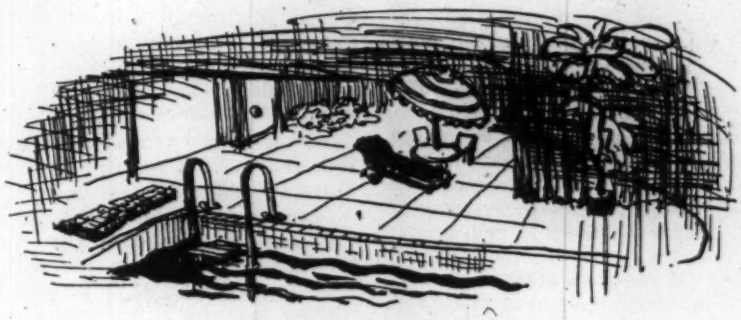
We can change this situation any day we want to. It is not obligatory, for example, to spend three times as much each year on advertising as on higher education. The Ten Commandments do not require us to do this. It is not a provision of the Federal Constitution. It is not an immutable law of nature. It is not even—despite President Eisenhower—a necessary condition for the safe functioning of free society. It is a man-made condition, and man can alter it.

The problem is *not* one of our economic capabilities. It is *not* one of the character of our society. It is a problem of national priorities, of national policy and national values.

The Soviet Union achieves its system of national priorities through the mechanism of dictatorship and physical control. These are methods we unreservedly condemn. To imitate them here would be to destroy our freedom and thus to lose the whole point of resistance to Communism.

The challenge we face is that of obtaining a wiser allocation of resources within the framework of democracy and freedom.

President Eisenhower has suggested that we cannot do this without abandoning our freedom. He is wrong. We have had epochs of national purpose in our past when we were able to direct our energies to national ends. We did precisely that, of course, during the two great world wars. And we have done it in peacetime too—most notably during the Progressive era and during the New Deal. These have been times when drift has given way to direction in our national affairs—when wise and vigorous leadership has enabled us to put our resources to intelligent use. When President Eisenhower suggests that the only alternatives open to us are to let things slide or to become a regimented state, he shows his ignorance of our history as well as his low view of the capabilities of a free society. "The central issue of the world struggle," Walter Lippmann has well said, "is whether the Soviet system or a liberal system can deal best with the problems that beset mankind. In that struggle we shall surely lose if we tell the world that, though we have the richest economy in all history, our liberal system is such that we cannot afford a sure defense and adequate provision for the civil needs of our people."



What is most depressing is the contrast between the heat of the Presidential reaction and the relatively small changes required in the allocation of resources. All that is involved is a marginal shift of resources—say, some $10-12 billion a year more to be employed for public purposes. Such a shift in resources can easily be achieved within the framework of our present economic and political order. It would entail no interference with the existing freedom of investment or of entrepreneurial decision or of consumer choice.

We possess the machinery for setting national priorities voluntarily and democratically. We possess it in the leadership of the President, in the instrumentality of the Federal budget, and in the Congressional powers of taxation, authorization, and appropriation.

If we are planning to stay in the ring as a great nation, we have no choice but to use this machinery in a bold and purposeful way. We will have to abandon the illusion that the free choices of millions of individual consumers can solve all our problems. We shall have to begin purposefully to focus our national energies in ways which will give us the things a great nation must have—defense, foreign assistance, education, medical care, scientific research, resources and energy development, elimination of personal poverty, and so on—even if these things don't make profits for private business in the market.

The painless way to assure a larger allocation of resources to public purposes and to the forgotten areas of the private economy is to enlarge the total quantity of available resources—which means to pursue a policy of stimulating economic growth. Between 1946 and 1953 our annual rate of growth was 4.5 per cent; in the years since, we have grown at an average rate of about 2.3 per cent. The continuation of the Truman growth rate through the Fifties would have given us in the year 1959 alone more than $70 billion more of production and about $13 billion more of Federal revenues for public disposal. A return now to a four per cent growth rate would mean an annual increment of some $20 billion to the gross national product. Even without tax increases, this would still give the national government $4-5 billion a year more for its disposal. With wise expansionist policies and with sufficient social discipline to avoid inflation, we can begin to do what must be done in the public sector and have continuing improvement in the standard of living at the same time.

Yet suppose that we lack the wit to

induce a sufficiently high rate of economic growth to provide for growth both in public investment and private consumption: what then? Confronted by the choice between improving our standard of living and doing what must be done for survival, then obviously the nation must forget its standard of living: if we fail to survive as a free nation, then television and tailfins will provide inadequate consolation. No one likes taxes. But there is no reason to suppose that either our present living standards or our present taxes or tax rates are sacred. There are unexplored possibilities in taxation—not only plugging loopholes, such as percentage depletion on oil, but taxing *things* to help *people*, such as, for example, a tax on advertising. If we don't grow more, then we must tax more—unless we are content to end up as the second-best nation.

There has been a good deal of talk in recent months about the need for a recovery of a sense of national purpose. The phrase "national purpose" is one of the pieties of our politics. A diligent search of the records discloses no one wicked enough to be against a sense of national purpose. The tough question comes when one considers what the idea of national purpose concretely involves. For some, it is a rhetorical genuflection which does not in the slightest hinder subsequent embrace of the consumer spending priority. But plainly, if national purpose is to mean anything, it must mean the subordination of private purposes to an overriding public purpose.

What are the community's aims? What is the overriding public purpose? For Americans, surely it must mean the belief in the dignity of people. The deeper American tradition has never been one of concern with *things;* that is why the consumer-spending philosophy is so aberrant. It has been a tradition of concern for *people*. The Eisenhower-Nixon thesis leads us to overinvest in things, to underinvest in people. But investment in people is the only foundation on which we can build our national future.

What does investment in people mean? It means putting an adequate share of resources into improving their education, their medical care, their communities, their economic status, their defense. It means national leadership to enlarge their opportunities and guarantee their equal liberties and rights. It means a recognition of the absolute importance of giving every young man or woman in America a chance in our national life proportionate to talent and character, whatever may be their race, their religion, their color, their social or economic origin.

This is the great tradition of American society. The return to this tradition is long overdue.

We have evaded for seven years the challenge of a wise allocation of our resources. We cannot dodge this challenge much longer. If we keep on according to the Eisenhower-Nixon theory, we will have more and more talent and resources swept up in advertising, salesmanship, gadgets, and gimmicks. We will also fall farther and farther behind the Soviet Union in ICBMs and the fight for space; we will witness the deterioration of American education and of the quality of American life; we will see a continued failure to make adequate provision for our children and our future. In short, we will simply not devote enough of our talent and resources to a number of things—from schools to space—which are absolutely essential to our power and influence, even perhaps to our survival, as a nation.

The choice is stark and imperative: either a continuation of self-indulgence along these lines of least resistance, until we drift into minor-power status and oblivion; or a recovery of national purpose and an exercise of national leadership.

Which party is more likely to offer the nation leadership on this underlying issue?

The position of the Republican Party—or rather its non-position—on the allocation question is clear. The Republican Party has never shown any interest in expenditures for the public welfare. It has always resisted the idea of public investment on principle. It is irrevocably committed as a party to the view that private spending for business profit is *always* better than public spending for the general welfare.

The position of the Democratic Party is better. Democratic leaders have addressed themselves to one after another of the many facets of the allocation question. Indeed, the main Democratic effort in recent years has been to try and repair the various "gaps" in our national situation created by Republican policy.

Yet that effort has not been so powerful and determined as it should have been; and the discussion still takes place in terms of the facets of the issue rather than of the issue itself. The professional politicians seem to feel that the issue itself is too explosive. They say that the American people don't want to be stirred up, that they are lazy and somnolent, that they fear government and hate taxes, that all they want is to have their taxes reduced and to be left alone.

One cannot demand too much of politicians. They cannot by themselves change the intellectual atmosphere of a nation. The brave and intelligent politician will seek to grasp new issues; but he cannot be expected to impale himself on them. It is precisely the job of men outside politics to prepare the way for the politician—to make it possible for him to advance new issues without inviting certain defeat. The editor, the professor, the writer, the intellectual, the community leader all have to till the ground.

The egghead runs interference for the political leader, because the egghead, who has no precincts to carry, can afford to take up issues when they are politically unpopular. If his position is right, it should only be a matter of time before he can convince enough people to make the issue politically feasible. One trouble today is perhaps that the outsiders haven't agitated the allocation issue nearly enough—which means that particular credit is due to those who have, especially to J. K. Galbraith, whose *Affluent Society* placed the question squarely before the national attention, and to Walter Lippmann, who has presented the question in a series of brilliant and penetrating columns.

But I do not suggest that the politician should wait until the men of ideas have done all the work of forcing urgent national issues into public

discussion. The responsibility of making the American people take seriously the life-and-death questions of our time is one that might reasonably be shared. The American people, moreover, are not a collection of idiots, and they are increasingly tired of being underestimated by their leaders. The first political leader who talks clearly and boldly about the real character of the problems of the Sixties may be astonished by the response. Even if such talk may not bring immediate political returns, there is a certain long-run value, as Winston Churchill discovered, in being right.

Moreover, when professional politicians report the American people as complacent and apathetic, they may be reporting the mood of 1952 or 1956 rather than the mood of 1960. Even if they are reporting a mood which still lingers into 1960, there is no reason to suppose that this mood is here for the rest of the century. A reading of our history suggests the existence of an inherent cyclical rhythm in our national affairs—a regular swing from periods of positive government to periods of negative government and back again; a shift from periods of intense activity which accomplish a lot but finally wear the people out, to periods of listlessness and drift which go on until the national energy is replenished and new problems accumulate, at which point comes a breakthrough into a new political epoch.

There is reason to suppose that we are approaching another such breakthrough today. Already one sees abundant signs of disquietude and anxiety in our national life. We are growing increasingly weary of drift and stagnation. We are growing increasingly bored by self-righteous piety. We are beginning to rebel against the materialistic goals held out by leaders to us—against the interpretation of the promise of American life in terms of physical comfort and moral complacency. The time for a national revival is at hand.

Let us not deceive ourselves: the existence of this cyclical rhythm doesn't guarantee safe entry into the new epoch. The fight for an intelligent use of our national abundance will be as hard as the other great policy battles of our age—as the fight in 1950-54 against McCarthyism, or the fight in 1937-41 against isolationism, or the fight in 1929-33 against laissez-faire. At each of these moments, the United States came up against a situation when it could not run its affairs in a style demanded by a doctrinaire minority and hope to make sense in the world. At each of these moments, the battle was for a time grim and precarious. But in each case those who saw America as a bold, generous, and imaginative nation won. This will happen again today.

The choice in 1960 is whether we are going to continue our present rush toward that classical condition of private opulence and public squalor which has always marked the decay of empires—this or whether we are going to recover control over our national life and national destiny and resume the movement to fulfill the real promise of American life, a promise to be identified not by the glitter of our wealth but by the splendor of our ideals.

The Uncommitted

by MURRAY KEMPTON

JOHN F. KENNEDY and Richard M. Nixon are quite different men. Yet there is a quality they have in common, something not quite tangible enough to be defined outside of metaphor. Neither seems to be a man at whose funeral strangers would cry.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was such a man; Adlai Stevenson remains such a man in a sense less general; Dwight D. Eisenhower seems to be such a man. What departs from politics as the new men arrive is a kind of poetry, Edgar Guest's kind in the President's case but still powerfully evocative to those who can respond to it.

But Nixon and Kennedy evoke almost nothing. They represent a triumph of prose. A Midwest editor commented at Los Angeles on what firm friends Nixon and Kennedy had remained until the day before the battle. "Why," he offered as evidence, "they even exchange polls." It defines their natures that these two friends exchange not presents but polls.

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If there were not already enough barbarous adjectives in the language, we might define their common quality as "Univac-uous." They do not think; they merely register other men's thoughts. The inspiration is exterior; they are the bottle but not the wine. Senator Kennedy is certainly the more sympathetic of these two friends. Yet the most that can be said is that he is engaging but somehow never engaged.

Neither, to choose an important instance, is even remotely eloquent. They are incurably prosy. Senator Kennedy is a Catholic, but he appears as insensitive to the awful majesty and poetry of that particular tradition as Nixon is immune to the sweetness of the Quakers.

As a substitute for emotion, each has settled for a manner. The Nixon manner, as William V. Shannon has already pointed out, is that of the television commercial. Kennedy reaches farther back to derive from the state papers of Woodrow Wilson. But the derivation is procedural rather than substantive. The Senator is a tidy, even graceful, prose stylist; yet there remains something oddly troubling in his speeches. I remember reading

all the way through his acceptance speech at Los Angeles and wondering at a certain wrongness in every line. That wrongness yielded its secret when I put my face in a corner and tried to read the speech aloud. It could not be read aloud. It was absolutely tone-deaf. The periods balanced neatly enough to the eye; but there was nothing remotely suggestive of a cadence to the ear.

The man is entirely non-bardic. And how can an Irishman believe something if at the same moment he cannot sing it?

What departs our politics with the anointment of these men is mystical presence. If leadership is something more than the mere registry of impressions of the public will, then we must resign ourselves to a politics without leadership. What is absent from the record of both these men is substantive interior quarrel. What interior conflict there is in Nixon adds up to the continually-repeated sentence familiar to the lower middle class: "What will people think?" What interior conflict there is in Kennedy is less easily reducible; but it would seem to add up to an intermittently-repeated sentence familiar to the very rich: "Why do people feel and think like this?"

I do not mean that either is an indecisive man; each has his polls and the polls give answers of a sort. The thing we shall miss the most will be the confrontation of men occasionally troubled by doubts answerable by less-ordered techniques.

President Eisenhower seems generally a model of indifference; but even he could not conceal a few years ago the torment of wondering what a good Republican soldier could do about Joe McCarthy. The President settled for not inviting McCarthy to the White House, which was petty, but at least displayed some capacity for uncalculating human pique. And the nostalgia which prevailed for Adlai Stevenson throughout the Democratic convention came, I think, from the recognition by those who clung to him that he is a more troubled, more uncalculating human being than the President is, let alone his successors.

Stevenson, for example, beat Kennedy on style throughout the Democratic convention. It can realistically be argued that a man who has the votes can afford to sacrifice the style to someone else; but I cannot imagine Kennedy enjoying the deficiency. Yet it is a deficiency that will be apparent for a long time—not just when he is confronted, as he was in the case of Stevenson, with the mystical presence reluctant to depart, but on all future occasions where he is asked to respond to a poetic moment.

We can find no better instance of this want than the civil rights issue, which is the only domestic issue which may be described as pregnant with poetic responses. Stevenson's response to it in 1956 was to be torn between his awareness of the justice of Negro aspirations and his friendship with white Southerners like John Battle and Luther Hodges, who say one thing in public and quite something else in private. He so identified himself with their conflicts as to be rendered almost inactive. One reason why the civil rights platform of the 1956 Democratic platform was so deplorable was that Stevenson could not find the will to fight for a better one.

Senator Kennedy handsomely remedied that defect in Los Angeles this year; he goes, by his own wish, into the campaign with the strongest civil rights plank that the Democratic Party has ever written. Yet there is no escaping the recognition that he played his part in that plank merely because he had counted noses and knew what he had to do. Having made that proper response, Senator Kennedy went to a pre-convention rally of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to claim his reward from those present. He entered with a guard force of house Negroes.

Kennedy had changed over the past four years, as most politicians had changed; even so, he showed himself particularly insensitive to the reason why. But the reason why was the essence of the change. After all, the

rational issues were the same in 1956 as in 1960; integration was then as now the law of the land; our world posture, in the wake of the Till and Autherine Lucey cases, was hardly less embarrassing then than now.

The difference, I think, was the Southern lunch counter sit-ins. Young people in segregated colleges had begun the direct assertion of their dignity. It was the least political of methods; nothing could have been farther from their calculations than the vision of themselves in Los Angeles as architects of the political platform of a party for which most of them are too young to vote and from which, in many cases, their fathers and mothers are debarred from voting.

Yet that is what they have done; as the only new factor in a very old situation, they have managed to make the politicians understand that there are persons to whom this issue means something.

One day last spring Senator Kennedy was addressing an audience which had loudly cheered Hubert Humphrey for suggesting that the Southern lunch counter strikers represented the America of Lexington and Concord. Senator Kennedy said that he was for civil rights everywhere and that included the right of every citizen to drink Coca Cola and anywhere he wanted to. He offered the word "Coca Cola" as though it were a flag and a signal for automatic applause; the response was all from the stage. He had reduced the material of epics to a mere physical thirst. Nothing more indicates his peculiar deafness to tones; he can offer any response short of the poetic.

Senator Kennedy, with that frankness which is his most engaging characteristic, has said that in these matters he has the disadvantage of his environment; he has never known enough Negroes to know how they think. Yet the civil rights issue is only a reflection of what Negroes think. What they think, in the special cases of those Negroes who have forced their ways into our history, may be something more mystical than the considerations of ordinary politics: it is the response of a special minority to the terrible recognition

that we are yet an imperfect country.

It is that minority which Stevenson touched and held long after he was a figure of power, and which Nixon and Kennedy face, incapable of recognition and response. It is the minority which has so often fed this country from below, choked almost since the war, but rising again.

Their deafness to tone has been described by close and not unfriendly students of Nixon and Kennedy as an absence of personal passion. It has come even to be spoken of as a strong quality of detachment. Neither, it has been said, suffers from the handicap of being a vindictive man. But the absence of honest rancor is, after all, a quality of professional wrestlers.

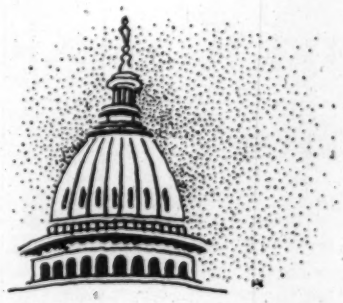
All this is rather odd in Kennedy's case, because he has so obviously taken for his model Franklin Delano Roosevelt, or at least the Roosevelt who won four straight elections. The parallels with 1932 were all over Los Angeles—the pleasant young man, the strong but somehow disembodied voice, even the atmosphere of a convention which felt cheated and bruised, even Adlai Stevenson as Al Smith, and Lyndon Johnson as John Nance Garner. If I had a doubt for John F. Kennedy's immediate future, it would arise from the sense that those who imitate history are condemned to be forgotten by it.

Yet, if there is one thing lacking to the parallel, it is Roosevelt's sense of and appreciation for that America which is fed from below.

Senator Kennedy is disadvantaged by having served the most conspicuous part of his public life in the United States Senate, probably the most insulated national institution left in America. He is also disadvantaged in his associations; there is no Eleanor Roosevelt in his family; and Mrs. Roosevelt, argue how you will about the unbroken perfection of her vision, has the unique capacity of always looking below with insatiable curiosity.

The business charts will be better, but a President Kennedy will at least share with President Roosevelt a problem, less often mentioned, but not much less important than the bank closures and the great lines of the unemployed.

Franklin Roosevelt became President at a time when the creative minority of American culture was in conspicuous flight from politics. The creative intelligence in America in 1932 was watching farmers break up



sheriff's sales, and cherishing hopeless little unions of auto workers and coal miners; it did not look to Washington. Now we have laws and institutions to meet the troubles of society; but these institutions arouse neither the sympathy nor the identification of the creative minority, which has returned to the anarcho-syndicalist mood of 1932, to a place outside society and public agencies—to picketing for Caryl Chessman, to marching against atomic bomb installations, to sitting down in lunchrooms.

This is not a spirit transmutable on the paper of polls or charts. Yet it is vastly consequential. Without the response of such persons, it is hard to see how any President can have a serious historical effect.

I had never quite understood the impact of President Roosevelt's Administration until I went to Hyde Park and the Roosevelt Library and the custodian fell to talking about why it was so large. "We had to make it big," he said, "to make it hold all the papers. Roosevelt was the first President to whom people sat down—sometimes by the light of a coal miner's lamp—and wrote directly about their problems."

That, I think, is the essential, taunting difference. Senator Kennedy is, of course, not entirely without resources of the spirit within his family; there is the instance of his brother Robert. Robert is not a vastly popular figure; it has been said against him, as an example, that he is vindictive where his brother is not. But that is a measure of human response.

Robert Kennedy represents, in his way, the survival of the spirit. John Kennedy owes him much and not least Jimmy Hoffa, who was, however reluctantly, as much a President-maker as anyone in Los Angeles.

Robert Kennedy began investigating Hoffa for want of anything else to do as general counsel of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. He proceeded into that jungle without guides or experience. But there are persons so constituted that they can go nowhere without some piece of faith to serve for light. Robert Kennedy is a Catholic; and naturally he sought his faith there. It is the difference between his brother, the Senator, and himself, the difference between those who are only properly oriented and those who are truly involved. I think that one of the reasons for the decline of our society which has brought us to Kennedy and Nixon has been our refusal to understand the proper place irrationality has in most valuable human endeavor.

In this spirit, Robert Kennedy became for his journey a Catholic trade unionist. He looked at the labor racketeers as upon men who had betrayed a priesthood; he ended up thinking of Jimmy Hoffa's as a company union and of Jimmy Hoffa's friends in industry as strike-breakers; in short, he became, for the occasion, a Catholic radical.

I remember feeling the difference between them one morning when the Senator came into Robert Kennedy's office in the rackets committee. It was the morning of a hearing; the fit was on Robert Kennedy; his brother was as charmingly detached as ever. "Well, Bobby," he inquired, "what shall I ask these fellows?"

That is the whole point; Senator Kennedy is one of those to whom men who care have to give the questions.

Both Kennedy and Nixon are receptive men; as Shaw almost said in another connection, they can tell a story well, provided someone else tells it to them first. They bring detachment to all doubts and all endeavors except the endeavor of winning elections. One can only return the proffer in kind and give detachment back to both of them.

The Men Around Kennedy

by KARL E. MEYER

"We're trying to get an organization going that is bigger than U.S. Steel, and we're trying to do it in three months."

—ROBERT F. KENNEDY
Time, Aug. 8, 1960

THE FIRST thing you notice in Senator John F. Kennedy's office are the books. In his suite in the Old Senate Office Building (fondly known as the Old SOB), the clutter of books on desk-tops and shelves conveys the flavor of the seminar and school room. The titles are in odd juxtaposition; *The Blowing Up of the Parthenon*, by Salvador de Madariaga (with an author's inscription), leans uncomfortably against John F. Parker's *1001 Jokes, Stories, Gems of Wisdom by and about Politicians.*

But the combination, though it might jar a librarian, is wholly congruous in the office which serves as the nerve center for the Democratic Presidential nominee's campaign staff. The men behind Kennedy, and the campaign they are waging, compose a study in the artful coexistence of scholarship and political savvy, of sweaty electioneering and intellectual detachment.

Those in Washington who have been reporting politics since the days of Coolidge can recall nothing quite like the cadre of intense and earnest young men who are advance agents for Kennedy's New Frontier. There is little of the amateur zest that enlivened (and plagued) Adlai Stevenson's two Presidential campaigns, and the smell of Kansas City cigar smoke which trailed the Truman camp is equally absent.

Instead, the advisers around Kennedy are very much like the candidate himself. "His would probably be a no-nonsense type of Administration," wrote Kennedy's biographer, James MacGregor Burns, "run by men young, dedicated, tough-minded, hard-working, informed, alert, and passionless. The place would be quiet, taut, efficient — sometimes, perhaps, even dull."

At this moment, it is not dull. Although Kennedy's young pros had fully expected to win the nomination ("The only time we were a little worried," confided one aide, "was just before West Virginia"), the campaign fever has roused even the more blase spirits. Amid the clatter of typewriters, the jangle of telephones, and the parade of petitioners, a momentary disorder masks the inner discipline of what is probably this century's best organized Presidential campaign.

Meyer Feldman is speaking. ("Mike is an issues man," explains an associate.) Yes, the Senator has a stand on virtually every important issue before Congress. How is it tabulated? Well, there are some 200 folders which assemble the pertinent facts and record the Senator's past votes. In addition, a brief precis on every topic is available to serve as a guide when inquiries are made.

What about the first hundred days? Assuming that Kennedy wins, is a program being drafted to take advantage of the first flush of victory? Feldman, whose formal title is legislative assistant, and who has the manner and bearing of a seasoned civil servant (which he was), dismisses the possibility of defeat. The first hundred days are already under systematic scrutiny.

There is an apt symbolism in the location of Kennedy's second campaign office in Washington's IBM building. A visitor to the Senator's office, a foreign correspondent, looked across the hall in the Old SOB, where by the whimsy of chance, Vice President Richard Nixon has *his* suite. "It's the technicians versus the fixers," said the marveling visitor. If Checkers is identified with Mr. Nixon, in the Kennedy camp it is decidedly chess.

But the sense of order and discipline should not deceive. This is not an organization built along military lines. As President Eisenhower has so well tutored the nation, the methods of the military mean that subordinates have formidable powers of discretion, and that the Chief is to be vexed only by the weightiest problems on which his adjutants cannot agree. In contrast, the Kennedy organization seems to be modeled on that of an efficient corporation in which the president is in full command of his junior executives (and of those relatives who confuse the business with a family firm). Each department—sales, personnel, public relations—is headed by an alert official who handles his chores with a maximum of rationalism and a minimum of fuss. But the department heads cannot commit the top executive, as drill sergeants so often have seemed to commit the Commander-in-Chief in the Eisenhower years. "There is nobody that can commit the Senator," an aide stresses, "except the Senator himself."

Thus, if the campaign foreshadows the way in which Kennedy might run the Executive office, there will be no Harry Hopkins and assuredly no Sherman Adams. The decisions, down to the smallest important detail, would ultimately be made by the man—not the men—in the White House.

The nearest thing to a general manager in the campaign organization is the candidate's brother, Robert Kennedy. Television has made the thirty-four-year-old Bobby familiar, and there is no need to belabor his mastery of hearing-room technique,

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his knowledge of the arcana of the Teamsters Union, and his terrier-like relentlessness in pursuit of prey. The degree of his determination to elect his brother President has sometimes awed and sometimes dismayed bystanders. But with all his virtues as an organizer, Bobby has his limitations, and they have been concisely summed up by Richard Rovere.

"Good political staff work," wrote Rovere in *The New Yorker*, "is always a joy for politicians to behold, but in essence it is a virtue that has more in common with neat bookkeeping than it has with the more serious and interesting aspects of politics. Much of the efficiency for which Bobby is admired is the product of neat bookkeeping and little else."

Working in tandem with Bobby is the organization's chief policy and planning executive, Theodore Chaikin Sorensen, who has been irreverently dubbed by some reporters as the Keeper of the Image. In some ways Sorensen affords a fascinating contrast with the Senator. His roots are in the farmbelt state of Nebraska, his lineage is a melting-pot composite of Danish and Russian, his political heritage is the Republican progressivism of the late George Norris, and his religion is Unitarian. But the similarities between Ted Sorensen and his chief are a measure of how the intellectual distance between Nebraska and Massachusetts has shrunk. Since he joined the Kennedy staff in 1953, Sorensen has acquired influence because he has an almost intuitive affinity with the thinking of the Senator. His admirers relate that it is almost impossible to distinguish his speech-writing prose from that of the Senator.

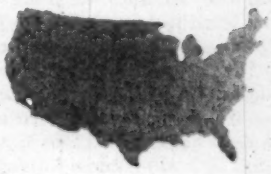
The thirty-two-year-old Sorensen, who is listed only as a "clerk" on the Senate payroll, shares with Kennedy a coolness of demeanor, a brisk efficiency, a detached liberalism, and a deep involvement in the game of politics. As a much-traveled organizer in the field, and as the Senator's chief speech writer, he has made many friends, but his single-minded devotion to his chief has made some enemies who do not hesitate to call him tough and ruthless.

There is less controversy about Lawrence F. O'Brien, the skilled professional who heads up the sales force. O'Brien, who at forty-five is practically the Methuselah of the group, is a onetime advertising and public relations man from Springfield, Massachusetts. A veteran of the 1952 and 1958 Kennedy Senatorial campaigns, O'Brien manages everything from campaign buttons and tea parties to the larger problems of organizational policy. It is he who presides over the field headquarters in the IBM building, where presumably "ELECT!" has replaced the "THINK!" placards. As author of the fourteen-page "Kennedy for President State Organization Procedure," O'Brien has won praise from discerning students of such matters.

The chief of public relations is Pierre Salinger, age thirty-five, who lends the only note of raffishness to the upper echelons of the Kennedy organization. In a fine old tradition, Salinger works in an atmosphere of exuberant confusion. One reporter described him as a "rather frenetic figure surrounded by cigar stubs and notes on the backs of envelopes." While the Harvard Business School might disapprove, the working press has developed an affection for this onetime night editor of the San Francisco *Chronicle* who retains something of the rumpled tradition of the city room.

Salinger's offbeat quality is neatly balanced by Archibald Cox, a pipe-smoking, tweedy figure who looks every bit a Harvard professor, which he is. In the jargon of industrial personnel, Cox's role might be described as research and development, or perhaps as new product promotion. He is the official envoy to the campus, and his task is to corral both scholars and ideas into the Kennedy fold. At forty-eight, Cox is another old-timer in the organization, a senior citizen who worked in both the Justice and Labor Departments under Franklin D. Roosevelt while some of his present bosses were wearing knickers. His specialty is labor law, and during the Landrum-Griffin days, Cox was a familiar visitor in the cloakrooms, invariably at Kennedy's elbow.

An impressive-looking roster of intellectuals works with and under Cox,



but appearances can be misleading. Although Republican oratory is already dwelling on the diabolic powers of Professors John Kenneth Galbraith and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., both of Harvard, there is little evidence that either wields great influence at the summit. To be sure, Kennedy has extended a tactful welcome to these and other eminent academicians, but the power of the professors has been largely overstated. Certainly they enjoy nothing like the status of such Roosevelt brain trusters as Berle, Tugwell, and Moley, and they have less influence than they had in the Stevenson campaigns.

In the Kennedy organization, as in any efficiently run corporation, it is the hardheads and not the eggheads who are in charge. The decisive, day in, day out influence is exercised by a group of junior executives with special expertise who are close to the center of power. Mike Feldman is typical of the group in background and temperament. He joined the Senator in 1957, after serving apprenticeship as a law professor, a Securities and Exchange Commission official, and as counsel for the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

Working closely with Feldman is Richard N. Goodwin, who is following a familiar New Deal itinerary. He came to Washington two years ago from Harvard Law School to serve as law clerk to Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter. Goodwin, twenty-eight years old, joined Kennedy as a kind of utility infielder after working on the staff of the House Legislative Oversight Committee, where he did most of the legwork on the expose of the rigged television quiz shows. Nonetheless, he is surprisingly unjaundiced and is widely regarded as one of the ablest and best-natured of the Kennedy crew.

The specialist in labor and immigration problems has been Ralph Dungan, 37, who after a season in the fusty offices of the Bureau of the Budget became a Kennedy appointee on the Senate Labor Committee. Dungan has now been detailed to organizational work. One of the key advisers on civil rights questions is Harris L. Wofford, Jr., thirty-four, a

widely-traveled law professor at Notre Dame who has been a legal assistant to the Civil Rights Commission. Timothy E. J. (Ted) Reardon, Jr., who has been with Kennedy since his days in the House, is administrative assistant. A onetime advertising man, Reardon handles the mail and is a stickler for keeping fences trim in Massachusetts.

This sampling of Kennedy associates—the list could go on *ad tedium*—is not intended as a who's who or as an inside dopester's key to Kennedy confidential. Rather, it is meant to point to a question: Does the ascent of the Kennedy star herald something new in American politics?

The answer is an emphatic and incontrovertible yes. But the newness of the Kennedy phenomenon is not quite of the same order, I believe, as has so often been reported. "New" has replaced "Ike" as the favorite three-letter word of the political oracles, and a composite of news stories would suggest that Kennedy's new men, speaking for a new generation and leading a party with a new image, will hew out a new frontier—assuming, of course, that they beat the new Nixon.

In particular, commentators have leaped on the question of age as if the calendar were a Book of Revelations. This is not to minimize the importance of years. The fact that the men around Kennedy are on the average well below forty reveals much about their basic orientation. Like their contemporaries, Kennedy's men have grown up with—and not against—the twin political revolutions of internationalism and the welfare state. Significantly, though Kennedy and Sorensen both came from an isolationist background, neither has any remote affinity with go-it-alone thinking. The crabbed domestic creeds of the radical right—states' rights, white supremacy, and repeal of the New Deal—are likewise recognized by the Kennedy men as stalactites in an ancient cave.

Yet the same point could be made about the men around Nixon. If the Republican convention proved anything, it was that the party's foxiest politicians recognized that there was no mileage in the old time religion espoused by Senator Barry Goldwater, the roar of the faithful in Chicago notwithstanding. On most points, Nixon emerged from the convention with a position not far from Kennedy's.

It is not age that sets the Kennedy men apart. Rather it is that the Senator's young pros have taken the skills and attitudes found in sophisticated managerial circles and have applied them to the most backward of the social arts, politics.

To start with, there is the matter of education. In times past, professional politicians looked with scorn or amused tolerance on the airs of the educated, and in campaigns professorial advisers might be hustled out of sight as if they were run-down relatives. But prevailing attitudes have changed, and Kennedy has turned against the anti-intellectual tradition with a vengeance. Not only does the candidate himself look as if he strolled to the hustings straight from Harvard Yard, but his predominantly Ivy League staff contains enough former football players to assemble a respectable scrimmage. One Kennedy organizer, Byron "Whizzer" White, was an All-American at the University of Colorado—but, characteristically, "Whizzer" was also a Rhodes scholar.

Unlike the hacks and ward-heelers of bygone days, Kennedy's men have brought to politics a zeal for professionalism, a respect for learning, and a capacity for mastering intricate legislative problems. The seriousness and high purpose of the Kennedy forces command respect. But there is an important added ingredient: In sharp contrast to other eggheads in politics, the Kennedy men also display an unnerving tough-mindedness concerning the means and ends of politics.

As to methods, the young pros show an almost brutal realism about the techniques of mass communication. The whole apparatus of persuasion and manipulation—opinion polls, Trendex ratings, and market research—holds few secrets from the Senator's staff. Although there is a healthy skepticism based on experience regarding the accuracy of polls, there is also a healthy respect for the power of television (in the language of the trade) "to project an image."

Something of the same hard realism extends to the organization's thinking on the ends of politics. The approach is pragmatic and problem-solving, and there is a marked distrust for the doctrinaire enthusiast. In many ways the approach is admirable and refreshing because of its flexibility and candor. But it is a managerial approach. As in a corporation, problems are seen primarily in a technical rather than a moral light, and the response is distinctly in terms of the head, not the heart. Significantly, "cool" is the ubiquitous adjective used to describe Kennedy and his staff.

In terms of conviction, the broad consensus is liberal in the Northern Democratic sense of the word. In both foreign and domestic policy, the Kennedy men lean more to the views of Adlai Stevenson than to those of either Dean Acheson or Senator Lyndon Johnson. You will find little dissent among them with the Democratic platform drafted by Representative Chester Bowles.

But it is liberalism expressed without florid rhetoric—or for that matter, without noticeable passion. It reflects a world that despairs of "final solutions" and confronts the future less with youthful ardor than with stoic resolve. Ideologically speaking, Kennedy's New Frontier will probably be staked out well within the outer boundaries set by Americans for Democratic Action. What is daring in the thinking of the Kennedy camp centers on the role of the President as a vigorous national spokesman, rather than in the programs that the President might advocate.

In his biography of Kennedy, Burns writes: "The men with dreams—but with no discernible plan—who could get in to see F.D.R., would not get past the White House door to see Kennedy, but those with an outline for a program would be welcome." What troubles critics of Kennedy's organization is whether men—and young men, too—who take so bilious a view of dreams can provide a nation with a fighting faith for a new frontier.

A venerable Harvard man once said that "to act with enthusiasm and faith is the condition of acting greatly." Mr. Justice Holmes also once recalled, "Through our great good fortune, in our youth our hearts were touched with fire. It was given to us to learn at the outset that life is a profound and passionate thing." A touch of that flame might do wonders in increasing the appeal of young men already sober and wise beyond their years.

Kennedy and McCarthy

The Issue That Would Not Die

by JAMES MacGREGOR BURNS

One of the most widely discussed and least understood episodes in Senator Kennedy's career is the role he played, and did not play, during the McCarthy era. Perhaps the fairest and most objective analysis of that phase of the record of the Democratic candidate for President was written by James MacGregor Burns, professor of political science at Williams College and author of John Kennedy: A Political Profile. *His chapter on Kennedy and McCarthy is condensed below with his permission and by arrangement with Harcourt, Brace & Company, Inc., publishers of the biography.*— THE EDITORS.

THE YEAR 1954 should have been the happiest in Jack Kennedy's life. He was newly married and he was coming into his own in the Senate. Actually, it was probably the unhappiest.

Although very much in love, the young couple found adjustment difficult under the trying circumstances of a politician's life. Kennedy was often away in Massachusetts or elsewhere on political errands. The couple bought a $125,000 house in Virginia, but Jacqueline at times felt rather lonely there.

A more grievous situation was Kennedy's health. During 1954 the pain in his back became almost unbearable. He tried a number of recommended remedies but nothing seemed to work. To ease his pain, he installed a rocking chair in his office and a couch for lying flat, but still to little avail. By mid-1954, he was continuously on crutches.

The worst aspect of 1954, however, was the drift of things in the Senate. It was clear by mid-1954 that the upper chamber was headed for a showdown over McCarthy and his tactics. A showdown over McCarthy would also mean a showdown for Kennedy. He had evaded the McCarthy issue in his 1952 campaign and ever since. "Democracy," Maury Maverick said, "equals groceries plus liberty." There was no question where Kennedy stood on groceries; but where did he stand on civil liberty?

By 1954 liberals in Massachusetts felt they had some justifiable suspicions about Kennedy. First of all, they were concerned about his family and friends. His father may have been a New Dealer under Roosevelt, but he had also made his millions through financial speculations, and he was close to Joe McCarthy, and to Herbert Hoover, Robert A. Taft, and other conservatives and isolationists.

Liberals were troubled also by some of Kennedy's political allies. The New Bedford (Mass.) *Standard-Times* was still solidly in his corner, and there was the special case of the Boston *Post*. Published by John Fox, and avidly pro-McCarthy, the *Post* had supported Kennedy in 1952 and still said nice things about him occasionally. Kennedy, moreover, had not hidden his disesteem for liberals who seemed to follow what he considered a doctrinaire "line."

When Kennedy first came to the Senate in January, 1953, McCarthy was nearing the zenith of his career. For three years he had bedeviled the Truman Administration and the Democratic Party with charges of laxness on security measures and of pro-Communism.

His Republican colleagues had looked on, half in loathing at the Senator's dishonesty and vulgarity, half in sheepish admiration of the trouble he caused Democrats. By 1952 Republicans were scrambling all over one another to enlist McCarthy's help in the election.

Some Republicans had predicted that a victory for their party would be the best way to deal with the Wisconsin Senator. Such hopes were quickly dashed. Soon McCarthy, now chairman, and, in effect, dictator, of the Government Operations Committee and of its investigations subcommittee, was actually sharing with President Eisenhower power over foreign policy and military administration.

The struggle spilled over into every corner of American politics, and in no state more than in Massachusetts. For there on one side were civil libertarians—some entrenched in academic halls, many of them Democrats—and high-minded Republicans appalled at McCarthy's destructiveness to their country and party; on the other, "practical" Republicans who saw McCarthyism as a bridge to groups who had been "captive" to the Massachusetts Democrats, particularly the Irish, who seemed to be attracted to McCarthyism.

Probably in no single area of the country could more open and violent feeling for McCarthy be found than in Boston. It was strongest in areas such as Kennedy's old Congressional district, where it tied in with Roman Catholic hostility to Communism; with immigrants' hatred for Russian control of their countries, as in the case of the Polish-Americans; and with low sensitivity to the civil-liberties tradition.

How did Kennedy deal with these competing views? In his correspondence he straddled the fence. He evaded the issue, but he did not contradict himself; he took pains to remind the libertarians of the needs of security and the McCarthyites of the claims of liberty and due process.

The intensity of the struggle offended him; he could not throw himself into the battle as so many Americans and even his fellow Senators were doing. He was consistent in his noncommitment, but to many this was just another way of saying he was shilly-shallying.

The very storm that Kennedy deplored made a showdown inevitable. He could take a compromise position in letters to correspondents, but how would he vote when the showdown came? The Senate record is clear. On almost every policy issue involving McCarthyism, Kennedy voted against McCarthy. On the issue of McCarthy himself, he took no stand.

During his first year in the Senate, Kennedy's personal relations with McCarthy were not close, but they were amicable. The Wisconsin Senator had been a friend of Joseph P. Kennedy for some time, visiting him in Hyannis Port and talking with him on his yacht, and the son had known him primarily through his father.

Although Kennedy was appointed to McCarthy's Government Operations Committee, the members did not meet as a full unit often enough to bring the two men into frequent contact in the Senate—it was the Committee's subcommittee on investigations that conducted the notorious hearings. Bob Kennedy worked for the subcommittee from January to August, 1953, when he resigned following altercations with Roy Cohn; he was reappointed as counsel for the Democratic minority when it returned in 1954 after boycotting McCarthy. But Bobby was never one of McCarthy's intimates.

Kennedy was not scared stiff of McCarthy, but he did respect his power to make trouble in Massachusetts if he set his mind to it. Kennedy was not worried about his own reelection, which would not come up until 1958 anyway, but he hated being directly involved in the violent controversy.

The issues swirling around McCarthy came to a head in August, 1954. Kennedy voted against an immunity bill designed to compel waiver of a witness' rights under the Fifth Amendment, as he had also voted against a similar bill the year before. In neither case, however, was the vote recorded, and Kennedy was not one of the ten Senators to stand up to be recorded against the bill. A week after opposing the immunity bill a second time, Kennedy voted to cite Corliss Lamont for contempt of Congress. In Committee, however, Kennedy had fought the citation; he charged that McCarthy was attacking Lamont on the basis of his writings and that this was unconstitutional. McCarthy was disconcerted.

While the press waited outside the door, Kennedy stood his ground; finally the Committee agreed to ask the Justice Department to comment on the constitutionality of citing Lamont. Eventually, that agency adjudged it constitutional, and Kennedy voted for it in the Senate. Among the Senate liberals, Humphrey and Symington, for example, also approved the Lamont citation.

At this time, the Senate was considering measures to strengthen efforts against domestic Communists. Kennedy voted for an amendment to the Subversive Activities Control Act to establish a commission to recommend a coordinated program for security screening of persons in defense activities, and to eliminate duplication in existing programs. Designed as a substitute for harsher anti-Communist measures that were pending, the amendment failed.

On July 31, after the electric drama of the televised Army-McCarthy hearings, Senator Ralph Flanders had brought in a resolution of censure: "Resolved, That the conduct of the Senator from Wisconsin is unbecoming a member of the United States Senate, is contrary to Senatorial traditions, and tends to bring the Senate into disrepute, and such conduct is hereby condemned." Kennedy sat through most of the tempestuous debate in the Senate but spoke only once. This was to correct a misstatement by a pro-McCarthy Senator about the Annie Lee Moss case.

Kennedy decided to vote for the censure resolution, but not on Flanders' terms. In a speech prepared for delivery but never given, Kennedy carefully distinguished his position from that taken by the liberal bloc. The issue involved "neither the motives nor sincerity of the junior Senator from Wisconsin," he said. "We are not asked to vote for or against Senator McCarthy." Kennedy did not feel free, he said, to base his vote on the "long-past misconduct" of McCarthy, to which neither he nor Flanders had publicly objected at the time. Nor could he vote for censure in order to conciliate foreign opinion.

Still he would vote for censure. Why? Because McCarthy had attacked the honor and dignity of the Senate. But there was to be no showdown in the Senate that day on Flanders' resolution of censure. The Senate majority leader, Republican Leader Knowland, hotly opposed to the resolution, moved the establishment of a select committee to consider the charges. A liberal group opposed the move because it feared that the psychological moment to chastise McCarthy would be lost. Kennedy and Republican Leverett Saltonstall were among the seventy-five Senators who favored Knowland's postponement measure, which would also mean a postponement of Kennedy's own speech.

There would be a showdown—but Kennedy was not to be part of it. He had sat through the debate on McCarthy in increasing physical distress. As soon as the Senate recessed, he went to Hyannis Port for rest; still he felt no better. The pain became unbearable.

Kennedy entered the hospital for surgery on his back. He remained there several months. He was still in the hospital when the censure motion finally came to a vote on December 2. He was listed as "absent by leave of the Senate because of illness." The verdict went against McCarthy 67 to 22, with only a small band of Republicans, and not a single Democrat, staying with him. The main basis of the censure had been changed, however, from the long-standing charges against McCarthy for general misconduct to a list of specific statements he had made about members of the censuring committee.

The verdict was in on McCarthy, and he never again would be a power in the Senate. But, in later years, some brought in a verdict against Kennedy. It was charged that he had been weak and evasive about McCarthy and about McCarthyism and should have officially notified the Senate as to his stand on censure even though he could not leave the hos-

pital to vote, or he could have had his vote "paired" with that of another absent Senator planning to vote the other way, as did all the rest of the absent Senators.

What are the facts on the verdict against Kennedy?

On the one hand:

One—On motions involving McCarthy's own perquisites, such as funds for investigation committees, Kennedy voted for McCarthy, as did almost every other Senator.

Two—On issues that seemed to Kennedy to involve the drawing of a fine line between the claims of individual liberty and the claims of national security, he gave priority to the latter.

On the other hand:

One—On clear issues of civil liberties, Kennedy voted against McCarthy.

Two—On appointments McCarthy favored, Kennedy voted against him.

On the one hand *and* the other hand:

One—In blocking the Flanders motion, Kennedy voted against the liberal anti-McCarthy bloc and in favor of setting up a censure committee. According to Washington observers, the Flanders motion might well have failed; the committee did censure McCarthy, and the censure stuck in the Senate, with heavy cost to the Wisconsin Senator. But a majority vote against McCarthy in August, if it could have been mustered, might have been at least as damaging.

Two—If censure had come to a vote in August, Kennedy would have spoken and voted for it, on the narrow basis of the "honor and dignity of the Senate."

Three—Kennedy was ill and did not, and physically could not, vote on the final censure, nor did he give any indication of his views. It is almost certain that if present he would have voted for censure on the same narrow grounds as he had planned to do in August. However, he did not take a public stand from 1950, when McCarthy first made McCarthyism a public issue, to 1954, when the Senate finally voted censure, or, indeed, for a long time thereafter.

So much for the record. The fact remains that nothing has caused Kennedy more trouble in recent years than his failure to vote on the final censure. During his quest for the Vice Presidency and later the Presidency, a sharp question from the

audience on the McCarthy issue was the one thing that could ruffle his ordinarily immaculate composure. His mixed record on McCarthyism was the number one issue for most liberals, and some of these had influence in national conventions. McCarthyism, in short, years after McCarthy's death, was the "issue that would not die."

Why did Kennedy take the censure stand that he did? Anti-McCarthy Senators followed, in general, two different lines of attack on McCarthy. Flanders, a mild-mannered Vermont Republican who was slow to boil but could boil hard, felt that McCarthy posed a supreme moral issue. His censure resolution was no legal document, but an expression of outrage.

The other anti-McCarthy line, finally taken by the censure committee itself, was a more legalistic and technical one. McCarthy had violated the proprieties and written and unwritten rules of the Senate. He should be curbed as a lawbreaker, but only after all due procedures were followed. Giving McCarthy the benefit of the doubt, the censure committee rejected charge after charge brought in by Flanders and the liberals. They could not ignore, however, McCarthy's dishonorable treatment of Senators and Senate committees.

Of the two approaches, Kennedy preferred the second. He tended to view McCarthy more as a procedural problem than a moral one.

In a way, this is curious, because McCarthy symbolized everything Kennedy personally detested. Vulgar, bullying, crude, cynical, dishonest, McCarthy represented the mucker element in politics that Kennedy had fought in Massachusetts. McCarthy sneered at the traditions, orderly procedures, and Senatorial good manners that Kennedy valued so highly. Nonetheless Kennedy never spoke up for or against McCarthy; he voted his conviction on issues of McCarthyism and let it go at that.

Why, then, did Kennedy take such a narrow position on a matter that to many Americans was the transcendent moral issue of their time?

One reason was his view that since the main indictment of McCarthy turned on his contempt for due process and fair play, any counterattack on McCarthy must scrupulously conform to proper procedures. Kennedy felt that McCarthy was entitled to a specific indictment.

Another reason, however, was much more personal. His brother Bob was a member of the McCarthy staff; his father was a friend of McCarthy. "So I was rather in ill grace personally to be around hollering about what McCarthy had done in 1952 or 1951 when my brother had been on the staff in 1953," Kennedy says. "That is really the guts of the matter."

But what Kennedy sees as a decisive reason for his stand may still not be the basic one. Was it political expedience? Certainly to some extent. While not unduly concerned about his prospects in 1958, he could never forget the intensity of the pro-McCarthy feeling back home, nor would his McCarthyite correspondents allow him to. But again, his stand reflected the pressures in him more than those on him. The civil-liberties creed was not part of his family tradition or his early environment. It was something he had met in later years, mainly at Harvard, and even then the great questions of the time were not civil liberties, but economic and social reform at home and intervention abroad.

Kennedy's judgment today on his McCarthy stand illustrates the fundamental attitudes that separated him from the libertarians for whom McCarthyism was the supreme issue: "The whole McCarthy episode must be judged in the perspective of the atmosphere which has always pre-

vailed in the Senate, where most members are reluctant to judge personally the conduct of another. Perhaps that was wrong in McCarthy's case—perhaps we were not as sensitive as some and should have acted sooner. That is a reasonable indictment that falls on me as well, although I was completely out of sympathy with McCarthy and had no close relationship with him, particularly after I voted against him on several occasions."

Such was Kennedy's "reasonable indictment" of his McCarthy position from the perspective of five years. How has he dealt with the issue in the intervening years?

He could not ignore it—for the liberals would not let him, nor would the journalists. It was a rare press interview or television panel on which the question was not asked. He evaded an answer when he returned to the Senate in the spring of 1955. A few weeks before the 1956 convention, he indicated approval for the censure action of the Senate. But it still seemed a straddle for some, and, following publication of *Profiles in Courage,* reporters passed around the remark that Kennedy should have shown less profile and more courage.

Mrs. Roosevelt, in particular, was critical of his position. White House decisions, she has said, should not be in the hands of "someone who understands what courage is and admires it, but has not quite the independence to have it." Why had he not gone on record when he returned to the Senate? she demanded of friends of Kennedy who interceded for him. "I think McCarthyism is a question on which public officials must stand up and be counted," she told them. "I cannot be sure of the political future of anyone who does not willingly state where he stands on the issue." It was not enough, she said, to uphold the vote of the Senate. "I believe that a public servant must clearly indicate that he understands the harm that McCarthyism did to our country and that he opposes it actively, so that one would feel sure he would always do so in the future."

It is questionable whether Kennedy at this time truly understood the intensity of the liberals' commitment to civil liberties. To them, freedom of speech and of conscience were not simply worthy policies to be placed on a par with other desirable principles of government. They occupied the very summit of the liberals' hierarchy of values. And they held a fixed position there. It was all right to experiment on social and economic matters, liberals felt, but impermissible to tamper with the basic liberties of the Bill of Rights, for only if those liberties remained secure could the free processes of government remain open for the detection and correction of error. The American civil-liberties heritage was a faith, renewed through time by Socrates and Milton, John Stuart Mill and Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes; indeed, it was a fighting faith for which many a man would die if necessary. And rarely had civil liberties in America been so threatened, liberals felt, as by the ruthless thrust of McCarthyism.

The question was still bobbing up when Kennedy made a campaign tour of McCarthy's home state of Wisconsin in April 1959. At a Press Club Gridiron dinner for Kennedy, costumed reporters sang to the tune of *Clementine:*

"Where were you, John—where were you, John,
When the Senate censored Joe?"

At McCarthy's home town of Appleton, where there is now a memorial to the late Senator, who died in 1957, a questioner in the audience asked Kennedy to comment on Mrs. Roosevelt's judgment that he had been soft on McCarthyism. With some irritation he said that his civil-liberties record was clear and "I am not ready to accept any indictment from you or Mrs. Roosevelt on that score." Later that year, in writing a newspaper review of Richard Rovere's *Senator Joe McCarthy,* he mentioned that the nation had "recovered its health" from the "McCarthy contagion" and that Rovere could expect the "usual stream of abusive, venomous letters from the still-vibrant cult of McCarthy admirers." (Kennedy himself received such a letter on his review from a St. Louis man who said that in praising the book he had become a discredit to the Catholic Church. It must be pointed out, however, that the attitude of American Catholics was by no means always pro-McCarthy; indeed, the liberal Catholic magazines *Commonweal* and *America* had early taken a strong anti-McCarthy stand, as had many individual Catholics, in particular, leading Catholic intellectuals.) Still, Kennedy had not made the flat denunciation of McCarthy that liberals demanded.

Why not? Partly out of sheer pride or stubbornness; he does not want to give the impression of taking flight from a position that he feels was a considered one. Partly out of a sense of futility; he, too, is aware now that the issue will not die. Partly out of political expediency; he has chosen to occupy a place on the liberal side of center in American politics and has left the more adventurous civil-liberties frontiers to Humphrey and Stevenson, who have staked out the territory. But mainly because the old pressures within him are still operative to some extent, even though on concrete civil liberties issues, such as the loyalty oath required of students requesting federal loans, he has taken a strong civil-libertarian position.

The central clue to Kennedy's position on the question is this: He was shaping his liberalism by fits and starts, out of his experience with concrete problems. He had been willed the heritage of economic liberalism, "the groceries," but not the heritage of liberty. He had never found a ready-made philosophy of liberalism that encompassed the vital combination. Kennedy recognizes this today.

"Some people have their liberalism 'made' by the time they reach their late twenties," he said almost wistfully. "I didn't. I was caught in cross currents and eddies. It was only later that I got into the stream of things." The McCarthy era, in the long run, may have contributed to the maturing and deepening of Kennedy's own liberalism. But if so, neither he nor the liberals would admit it.

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The South Divided

by LYMAN JONES

IF, AS IS commonly supposed, Texas and her ten Southern sisters were truly one-party states, the Democratic Party's John Kennedy-Lyndon Johnson combination might honestly be said to be, as some "pros" are saying, a "dream ticket."

But the South is not made up of one-party states; they are not now and perhaps have not been since the last carpetbagger was pointed north and told goodbye. But neither are they two-party states, despite the existence of an heirloom GOP. In the sense that Northerners think of political parties, they are no-party states. This is one important reason the mere presence of Lyndon Johnson's name on the ticket does not automatically insure that the border states and the deep south states will go Democratic in November.

It is by no means certain, even, that Johnson's own Texas will go Democratic this year. If President Eisenhower should be persuaded that it is his Republican duty to mount the stump in Texas, he might swing the state into the Republican column, particularly since Kennedy and the Democratic platform are unacceptable to the anti-liberal, anti-labor interests which make up the core of support for the other half of the ticket, Lyndon Johnson.

The classic example of the pitfall of prophecy about the solidity of the solid South is H. L. Mencken's, uttered in April, 1928, in the certainty that Al Smith would be nominated at Houston: "It seems to me that all gabble about splitting the solid South is nonsense. It is simply impossible, in most Southern states, for a self-respecting man to be a Republican."

It is still not entirely respectable to confess out and out Republicanism in the old South, but it has become perfectly respectable, even highly moral and patriotic, to jump the Democratic fence in the name of states' rights and right-to-work and rum and Romanism and tidelands and let's-keep-the-NAACP-and-Walter Reuther-out-of-the-White House, or any combination thereof. It happened in Texas and elsewhere in the South in 1928 and 1952 and 1956—and it was Southern Democrats who did the fence jumping.

It is impossible to get a reflex response from tapping a knee unless the knee is connected to a central nervous system. But there is not in any of the Southern states a cohesive Democratic Party body, complete with common ganglia, equivalent to the Democratic Party machinery of a Northern state. It is the failure to see this which tripped Mencken and trips those who echo his prophecy today.

In Texas, for example, there is a Johnson organization, a (U.S. Senator Ralph) Yarborough organization, a (former Governor Allan) Shivers organization, a (Governor Price) Daniel organization, a Dixiecrat organization (the Dixiecrat movement was born in Texas in 1944), a liberal Democratic organization, a liberal Republican organization, a conservative Republican organization, and radicals of both the Right and Left. There is even a die-hard Martin Dies organization which bestirs itself whenever the sleepy-eyed old Red hunter announces he might try for the governorship or maybe for a U.S. Senate seat.

But there is no sign in Texas of a Kennedy organization, and it is only Senator Yarborough who is publicly urging all-out support of the ticket.

Each cluster claims to back the only true pretender to the Jefferson-Jackson throne. But no cluster leader carries this claim to the point where he might actually have to play the lead role in a coronation—that is, none has tried to unify Texas Democrats for other than personal success at the polls. In unification lies danger—a unified party's nominating processes might get out of hand.

And so the clusters are fully operative only for the Democratic nominating primaries. They lie dormant between. There is some overlapping of their loyalties, but cooperation of clusters is the exception. Such exceptions are jury-rigged, thrown together hastily of whatever material is handy.

To make the waters even murkier, the forms of party organization are maintained. There is a state Democratic Executive Committee. But this is the personal tool—part of the cluster—of Governor Daniel. It is almost totally anti-Yarborough and anti-Kennedy; it is partially pro-Johnson; its members include persons who worked publicly for Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956, protectively colored, for "respectability," as "Democrats for Eisenhower." Daniel himself was a Democrat for Eisenhower in 1952; in 1956, running against national party-oriented Yarborough for governor, he says he voted for Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver, but he did no public work for the ticket after winning the Democratic primary, as loser Yarborough did. Returning from the Los Angeles convention, Daniel told a press conference that in 1960, as in 1956, he will vote for the ticket but he repudiates the platform.

Lyndon Johnson, of course, said at Los Angeles that he stands squarely on the platform. But in 1956, with the tide running strongly for Eisenhower, the Stevenson-Kefauver headquarters, operated by Johnson and Rayburn distributed thousands of copies of a Holmes Alexander newspaper column knocking Stevenson and extolling Johnson.

LYMAN JONES, a Texas free lance writer, has appeared in The Reporter, the New York Times Sunday Magazine, Coronet, and The New Republic.

In this no-party nihilism, it is every man for himself—with a vengeance. Therefore, Johnson prepared carefully for Los Angeles. The Texas legislature, more than a year earlier (with Sam Rayburn personally lobbying), passed a new version of the 1932 Garner Act, setting forward the date of the Democratic primary so that Johnson could have his Senatorial nomination securely pocketed before the convention, and making it legal for the general election ballot to list Johnson as the Democratic nominee for Senator and also for "a national office." This ploy is under attack in a Federal court, but the Garner precedent is expected to stand.

Since the Johnson cluster was not big enough to carry the June Texas state convention, which named the delegates to the national convention, Johnson signed a truce with Daniel and took to California a delegation ranging ideologically from center to extreme right. The delegation included about forty former Democrats for Eisenhower. No liberal of prominence was on the delegation (Yarborough was not a delegate), and no liberal of prominence, including Yarborough, is likely, unless Kennedy insists, to be allowed inside the 1960 Texas national Democratic campaign headquarters.

The delegation at Los Angeles, in addition to the anti-national Democratic Daniel, included such indigenous Texas types as Hall Timanus and George Charlton of Harris County (Houston), both of whom were named Presidential electors by the June state convention. Timanus, a former Harris County vice-chairman of Democrats for Eisenhower, refuses to say for whom he will cast his Electoral College vote. Charlton, who flies a Texas flag at half mast on the anniversary of Texas' entrance into the union and unfurls the stars and bars on the dates of Confederate military victories, has been a delegate to four Democratic conventions (plus one Dixiecrat) but he openly brags, "I've not voted a national Democratic ticket since 1924." In 1948, he was a member of a committee which nominated South Carolina's Strom Thurmond for President.

THE BURNING TRUTH IN THE SOUTH

by MARTIN LUTHER KING

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In addition to the pressures on Johnson growing out of no-partyism, there is the Kennedy Catholicism and the Kennedy liberalism. The latter disturbs leaders of the old South at least as much for its economic aspects as for its racial commitments. Price Daniel, reached on the convention floor after the Kennedy nomination, said:

"I'll support the nominees of the party."

But would he campaign for the ticket?

"I have no plans . . . other than to vote for the nominees of the party because I'm titular head of the party —and that's all."

Daniel said Kennedy could not, in his judgment, carry Texas, "in view of this platform," adding that his vote for Kennedy should not be construed as a vote for the platform which contained "all these things . . . no Texan could hardly be for."

What things?

"Well, I don't want to go into detail . . . the oil depletion allowance. A minimum wage in agriculture. Sitdowns . . ."

Daniel and his anti-Kennedy backers have an important ace up their sleeve, because of Daniel's personal possession of the state Democratic Executive Committee. He could fight Johnson (if Johnson should choose to oppose him) for control of the Texas state Democratic convention to be held September 20. At this convention, which will be organized by the present Executive Committee, members of the Executive Committee will be named to serve through the coming biennium. If Daniel chooses, suggests the chief Texas press exponent of no-partyism, the Dallas *Morning News*, two roads beckon:

"1. The Democratic State Convention . . . could specifically free its electors to vote as circumstances suggest in the Electoral College . . .

"2. The convention could sidestep the issue entirely, in which case the electors would be legally free to vote as they choose. The Constitution of the United States originally intended that electors should be thus free to determine election of the President and Vice-President. Nothing in Federal or state law contravenes or restrains such freedom of action by the electors."

This proposal, meant to mesh with the "free elector" plans already afoot in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi, is intended to withhold the required simple majority of electoral votes from either of the regular party candidates and force the choice of President and Vice-President into the House of Representatives.

Arthur Krock, dean of the New York *Times'* political analysts, sees the 1960 "free elector" plan as "the most serious of independent movements since 1912."

Kennedy's Catholicism has been under attack in Texas since long before the Senator became the official candidate for the Presidency. Dr. W. A. Criswell of Dallas, pastor of what he says is "the world's largest Baptist congregation," said in a sermon broadcast from his pulpit that Kennedy's election would "spell the death of the free church and the free states . . . the end of religious freedom in the United States." Criswell's blast was immediately echoed by pastors of smaller churches all over the state, especially in rural and semi-rural areas. Baptists constitute the majority in Texas and generally support conservative candidates for state and national office.

And the old canards, old as the Al Smith candidacy, are circulating again:

"Did you hear that there were seven [or eight or ten] Catholic cardinals in Los Angeles working for Kennedy?"

"First thing Kennedy will do is name an ambassador to the Vatican."

"I guess we're gonna be taxed to support Catholic schools."

And the more debased bigots are

busy spreading their obscene and filthy tales.

The conservative press fills its "letters" columns with anti-Catholic missives. Six major Texas daily newspapers, during the period from the opening of the Democratic convention to the closing of the Republican convention, carried ninety-eight anti-Catholic letters, ranging in tone from sincere misgivings about Catholicism to undisguised bigotry, but only eleven letters urging tolerance.

Against this background it is no strain to conclude that either party can carry chunks of the one-time solid South in November.

If victory goes to the GOP, it will doubtless be because the Republican platform makes more fuss over leaving things to local governments. "Local self-government" has come to mean, in the South, slow compliance on school integration and other civil rights progress. Additionally, the GOP's economic outlook is closer to the generally conservative Southern mind.

If the Democrats win, it will probably be because the South's professional politicians are convinced that holding onto the Southern bridgehead in Congress is worth swallowing an unpalatable platform plank or two. The Democrats of the South have long considered a platform of the national Democratic Party something to run on, rather than something to stand on.

It is quite likely that many leading Southern newspapers shortly will endorse Nixon and Lodge. Those in Texas will avoid the problem of rejecting a native son by endorsing Johnson for reelection to the Senate. But it is unlikely that these endorsements will have more than a small effect on the outcome.

Lyndon Johnson may be thinking privately—as many of his backers are publicly—that he has more to lose in a Kennedy victory than if Nixon wins. The continuation of his Senate majority leadership would provide a superior springboard from which to run for President in 1964.

If Richard Nixon is correct in his post-nomination prediction that the coming campaign "will be a close race, perhaps the closest in our history," it may well be because the no longer solid South is part of the race course.

The For-God's-Sakers

by MILTON MAYER

YOUNG MURGATROYD has always astonished me. He came to see me in Paris one spring—it was his first time abroad, and he had just landed—and said he wanted to talk about God. "Of all God's handiworks," I said, "Paris in the spring is His favorite. Let's get out of this rathole and go for a walk."

"No," said Murgatroyd, "I have no time for a walk. We each have a chair; we'll talk here." A few hours later he got up out of the chair and went on around the world and talked about God. He never saw Paris. He never lifted his eyes to the hills—such as Montmartre—whence cometh his strength.

He astonished me five years before that, when he said he was going to give up tennis because he had no right to amuse himself in a world like this; and again, five years before that, when he walked into my house and took a look at the mangled parts of an ancient cuckoo clock and put them together, and in working order, in an hour. A *rara*, young Murgatroyd, lofty, thoughtful, skilled, and, on top of it all, well-favored of face and frame.

Most likely to succeed, say you? Most likely, say I. He has served eleven prison terms in the past ten years and, by the time these unkind words are published, if I mistake me not, he will be serving his twelfth, this time for having boarded the missile-launching submarine Polaris, at New London, Connecticut, for the purpose of persuading the crew to resign.

He astonishes me, and I would share my astonishment with you, at the risk (nay, the certainty) of boring you with my melancholy lay. (I still remember Mr. Dwight Macdonald's protest against having to read *Inside Mayer* wherever he turned; and that was long ago.)

This past spring—they are all alike to young Murgatroyd—he wrote me a long letter advising me to come east to go aboard the Polaris and almost certainly thence to the Federal Correctional Institution at Springfield, Missouri, from which Murgatroyd operates on a rubber band. Instead of saying that I had prior commitments of a pressing nature, daughters to marry, sons to let into the house after midnight, wives to warm when the heat goes down, sick to visit, and books to write, I said that my time was wholly occupied with chess, the fiddle, and ancient Greek; as indeed it is. Weren't these (I said) important activities too?

So fey was I being that I was tempted to mention the cultivation of my begonias along with my chess, my fiddle, and my Greek. I resisted the temptation; I did not want Murgatroyd to have an apoplexy, I wanted only to rile him up to the point where he would, once again, astonish me. He did:

"Dear Milton:

"American life is, usually: complex, rich, entertaining, breathtaking, expensive, colorful, tuneful, passionate, secure, stimulating, clever, all, indeed, that life should be for all men. Could all men enjoy it, it would be fine, but since only the smallest fraction of mankind can enjoy it, and these have fenced it in behind H-bombs, B-58's, nuclear submarines, napalm, and myriads of other horrible devices, a thinking

person may become suspicious of it.

"Why, he may ask himself, has something so good become associated with things which are so evil? For all things there should be a reason. Perhaps the answer to this puzzle about the American way of life is that Americans have created it for themselves *first*, and placed the welfare of other human beings second.

"In a way, Milton, is this not the essence of evil? All people say to themselves, yes, compassion and generosity are the most valuable, but *first* I must have mine. First I must make my mark and rear my children and invest wisely. *Then* I will be able to turn my attention to helping other people, to reforming society. Why, it would be madness to think otherwise, for if I don't have these things first, how can I be emotionally secure, or respected in the eyes of my friends?

"Time and goodness are closely related, are they not, Milton? We have perhaps, if we are fortunate, seventy years, a finite number of instants in which to choose, and each time we choose to satisfy our own desires and wants first, we make a philosophic error, do we not? What is a life whose sum is a succession of philosophic errors?

"I can see how studying Russian could help create a peaceful world, hence I study Russian. If ancient Greek helps you to perceive truth and reject error in Holy Script, then it assumes great value, but somehow I can not believe God made a world in which only scholars of ancient Greek can know His word. Chess and violin playing have no relation whatsoever to international peace. The Germans were able in both, and knew it, and perhaps their ability and their joy in their ability and efficiency in chess, violin playing, automobile manufacturing, and other things account for their philosophic mistakes.

"Milton, you will have a spectrum of nonviolent action projects to choose from this coming year. Edgewood will focus on CBR weapons, there will be a civil defense protest in New York, and this summer we will go after Polaris fleet ballistic missile submarines.

"If you commit civil disobedience on civil defense day, your sentence will probably be no longer than thirty days. Civil disobedience at Edgewood will earn you at fewest six months in a Federal penitentiary. Carefully planned action at New London can bring you up to five years and a fifty thousand dollar fine.

"Are these the prices to be paid if man is to be redeemed from war? What is the price if he is to be redeemed from evil itself? It was either Malraux or Camus who said, 'To have lived, a man must have loved deeply, traveled widely, and been in prison.' Have you lived?

"Chess you can play in prison, much more than out. Ancient Greek you can study three to four hours a day in prison. All penal institutions have bands. Your violin would be very busy.

"So, Milton, I've done my best to provide you with opportunities. None of these opportunities is likely to win, for those who capitalize on them, popular acclaim, or even approbation from the pacifists, but then there is little in Christianity to make one expect popularity from doing God's will.

"Milton, I keep trying, and after every try I feel guilty because I know that what I ask of others I do not ask fully of myself, and that my faults and addictions are many and deserve my total attention.

"My best to the family,

"MURGATROYD"

Murgatroyd wades in wide open and throws his gloves all over the ring. Chess and the fiddle—which were played by "the Germans"—have no relation whatsoever to international peace. Well, sir, one night in Western Europe, I got into a chess game with a man whose identity was wholly unknown to me. We played all night, and then I found out that he was Vice-President Andrej Ziak of the Czech Parliament. A year later, at a peacemongers' meeting in Eastern Europe, somebody marveled at the understanding between Ziak and me, when neither of us spoke the other's language. "Meelton and I," said Andrej, "we speak the language of chess."

Young Murgatroyd—I call him young; he must be pushing thirty-five by now—rejects the non-verbal communication of chess and the effect of the fiddle on the savage breast the way he rejects Paris in the spring. He wouldn't know whether the prison band has violins or only clavichords and carillons. He wouldn't know because he wouldn't have noticed. He marches to a music made entirely by distant drums.

He does not tell me what Malraux, or Camus, or Murgatroyd means by "loved deeply," but it is not so long since, twenty years, maybe, or thirty, that I was called the Cut-Rate Casanova. Have I lived? I have traveled widely, but Socrates would not leave Athens, nor Kant Koenigsberg. Have they lived? In the course of my wide travels I have been in prison (overnight, like Thoreau) and Christ has not. Has He lived?

If it were with me (as Geo. Fox would say) to give Young Murgatroyd the business, I might do so smartly, and thus evade the issue, which isn't Murgatroyd at all, but me. But it isn't with me. It is with me only to worry about us both. Must I be as deadly earnest as he to be saved? Must I believe that what I do or don't do will save others? Must I see life steady, like him, but, like him, in part? Must I burn my books and my dog and my slippers and my pipe and my wife and my children or—alternatively—not have acquired any of them in the first place, like Murgatroyd? Is there no *funnier* way out than his? Have I got to stop laughing? Writing? Begonia-growing, pancake-making, lying abed, helping the blind man across the street today so that he will live to be killed by the missile tomorrow?

If it were with me—. And thus might I evade the issue, which isn't Murgatroyd at all—. But it isn't.

His monomania, like all monomanias, is wonderful to behold, all the more so in this neuter land. Murgatroyd is a stirring figure just because, like Gandhi and Hitler, John Brown and Torquemada, he believes in something with passion and most men

in this hollow land are vacuous. He knows where he is, and why he is there, and what he is.

He's a full-time fighting-man, is Murgatroyd, flailing his way from front to front and carrying the attack to the walls of the Pentagon. He has, and has had, no other career than the anti-martial martial. *His* army is the Lord's, *his* buckler the Word, *his* helmet the shining thorn; he neither sleeps nor tarries, and his reward will be glorious. But isn't he a *bit* of a specialist, given to the partiality of all specialization?

Humor has already failed him. I think that wonderment is failing him. The night, the dew; does he see the stars as space-platforms to be boarded like the Polaris? Imagination, tenderness; what will the martial career do to Murgatroyd? Has he (or any man) a sufficient store of charity to survive his arrogant enemies, his faint-hearted friends, and a publicum which mocks him? And in the unsuccessful event of his efforts, will he have bands enough of angels to fortify his forgiveness of his tormentors? I would worry about Murgatroyd, and evade the issue.

I fiddle; Rome burns. But Rome is always burning; it always will. What will Murgatroyd say if I compare him with the lover of politics, the election-time fanatic, and say that he no better than the politician will understand the Greek don at Cambridge who, at the height of the Battle of Britain, was asked what *he* was doing for his country and said, "I am what England is fighting for"?

"The tragedy of post-war Germany," says Reinhold Schneider, "is exactly the same as that of pre-war Germany: Everything, all thought, all art, all beauty, all human relations are judged in a single context." Here is Murgatroyd judging chess and the fiddle (and Greek and Russian) in a single context. Whatever is done must be justified by the pursuit of international peace. And if there is no international peace? Is there then to be no peace at all? *"My* peace I give you," the peace that passeth understanding. Shall I find it if I give up chess for Russian?

My little woman, like me, came old to this totalitarian challenge and the total response it invokes in young Murgatroyd. She and I grew up in a lighter air than that which now suffocates him and (I confess) oppresses us. She likes to have me at home once in a while, you know. And my baby buntings, for whom I go a-hunting, put up a fearful howl when I come home with nothing to wrap them in. Then there's Grandma, who lives in lifelong terror, not of what I will do next but of what Mrs. Homyonum will say about it.

Rome burning holds Mutti and the kids and Grandma hostage for my peaceable behavior—that is, for my connivance in war—and I keep the peace which does not in the least pass understanding. Forget Mutti and the kids and Grandma. I am a writer and I want (I say "ought") to write. My "desires and my wants," says Murgatroyd. If I were Shakespeare, would he have me board the Polaris? I think he would, and I do not say for sure that he would be wrong. If he gave Shakespeare a pass, he'd have to draw the line somewhere. Where? At Titian? Freud? Elvis Presley? Me?

Murgatroyd, the red-eyed recidivist, is right. He is right because his is the only way left to say No to the evil whose floorwalkers are the Nixons and the Kennedys (and the Stevensons). That there is no other way left a man to extricate himself is the mark of our democratic totalitarianism; the self-alienated alone is able to defend his country's values against his countrymen and their institutions. So it was in the adolescent days of Nazism, when the Nixons and the Kennedys were still in office, and, as the liberals here swarmed to Kennedy to stop Johnson, the liberals there swarmed (at a more advanced stage) to Hindenburg to stop Hitler and got them both, and only those who said No at the beginning went on saying No to the end. To do anything political, a man here, as there, must break the law; nothing less.

To do less and be political is to *do* nothing. Senators Humphrey, Fulbright, and Morse, of whom the Editor of *The Progressive* says, "They have been struggling against almost hopeless odds for a more affirmative and creative foreign policy," must deplore the Japanese security treaty because it is evil and then vote for it because they can not say No to the evil and remain in politics.

The odds are less hopeless when you stop struggling during the roll call. But he who says No and does No reduces the evil by one man, while he who deplores the evil and in every new speech or editorial says what ought to be done, what "should" be done, what "must" be done, leaves the evil untouched and feeds it with his life.

To be sure, the Murgatroyds put themselves outside the pale of orthodox politics. Nobody will listen to them; a whole society with a suicide compulsion finds them afflicted with a martyr complex. A. J. Muste goes over the fence and into the missile base, while Reinhold Niebuhr preaches Christian water-carrying on both shoulders, and the worse theologian appears the better.

These statesmen, and these editors, and these preachers, if they went and did like Murgatroyd would lose their influence. And what influence, pray, have they had since 1945? Was it for want of temporizing that they have had none? What influence have they now? Eisenhower and they all thought that the U-2 flight was "unfortunate," but they all learned about it at the fifteenth hole. Eisenhower and they all thought that the U-2 flights should be stopped; so the next time the fliers flew an RB-47. Why should the machine which grinds up a President break its teeth on a Senator, an editor, a preacher?

Unlike them, I know that I am ineffective out of prison. What makes Murgatroyd suppose that I would be effective in? There are plenty of cells and the picture magazines will pay me no more attention than they pay Murgatroyd or Muste. If a thousand like me went to prison—and then a million—we might get somewhere. The art of the impossible might become the art of politics. The sitdowners made it that in Flint, Michigan, in 1937 and now again, in our time, in Dixie. But they *began* by facing prison. Five hundred New Yorkers faced prison in the air raid drill last spring, and it was only two or three years ago that only four or five faced prison there. Now the air raid drill is doomed, but if there are going to be a million, there have to be four or five, or one.

I ran out of good, gray alibis long ago and saw that the choice is black

and white. I have got to compound the evil or resist it and not wag my head over it and go on living like a country-club pig in a world that is dying of starvation enforced (as Murgatroyd says) by H-bombs. Each season a little more belly here, a little more lassitude there. I am like the Nixons and the Kennedys (and the Stevensons) who say to the C.O., "I disagree with your view, but I respect it." What right (outside the right to be fat-headed) have I, if I respect Murgatroyd's view, to reject it? It is not respect that the right wants, it is men.

Murgatroyd's action outstrips his rhetoric. When he warns me and all men against "choosing to satisfy our desires and our wants first," he hands us Mayers still another dodge, still another reprieve from the issue. We can point to him and say, "*You* desire to go to prison, and you do it," and to ourselves and say, "*I* desire to go to prison, and I don't." And there is patina enough of truth in both assertions to withstand a superficial rubbing. When I was young and I said I would not let myself be forced to kill as many as possible of my brethren who were being forced to kill me, my literary agent, Mr. George Ten Per Cent Bye, said "Milting, if you go to prison, I guarantee you that De Witt Wallace of the *Reader's Digest* will give you $25,000 for your memoirs." Would a bad man go to prison for $25,000? You bet he would.

Would a newspaperman go to prison for $5,000, or for $500? If he were worth his salt as a newspaperman, indeed he would. I'm a newspaperman clear out to the rind, an old firehorse tethered by a begonia stalk! The more unjust our society becomes, the more important an ingredient of it is the prison system. I ought to know something about it, and the newspaperman knows that there is no way to know about anything except to get inside. I would not even be gaffed by my neighbors —they're used to me—or lose a dime on the deal in the end. Why not, then?

What holds me? My commitments. Why, then, do I make the commitments, and new commitments on top of those I long since made? I say I am expected in Eastern Europe to hearten the Christians there by my presence. How much more would they be heartened by my absence when they learned that I was in stir for having done a small chore for the Lord, at the pain of a few months of close quarters. The penalty is higher where they are; they need to be heartened by my absence, not by my presence.

Young Murgatroyd has the habit of prison. I have a charming variety of habits. His eye is single, mine myriad. He writes of desires, but he does not know their conflict in his own members. Me, I should like both to be in prison, where the lights are turned out, *and* at home, where I have to go around turning out the lights after a lot of darned fool kids. I am a poorer stick than Murgatroyd, but a wiser, because I suffer more than he does and out of suffering is wisdom born.

The rhetoric he must address to us statesmen, editors, and preachers is this: "You have many desires in conflict, but the one that takes the edge off the satisfaction of all the rest is to be a better man. Come along aboard the good old Polaris and be a better man, then. You will not make international peace; you will only irritate your countrymen and they will love violence the more. You will not be listened to, or even seen or heard. Nor will you suffer much from a few months of good hard labor, plain food, and regular hours. You will be a better man with less effort than any other way. How about it?"

There is a transient reality—the reality of seventy years of organic decay—and a durable reality which is timeless. And they are both real in time. The durable is longer than the transient, but they are both of them real. And so, the man who says he must stay the course and protect his "emotional security" (as Murgatroyd says) is realistic, too; he must not cut himself off and some day blow up, as I predict Murgatroyd will. (But he will astonish me again by not doing it.) The trouble is that each day the short course is shorter, each day my emotional security more certain and the end of the world with it.

When the State comes to me and says, "I need your money for H-bombs and U-2's and J. Edgar Hoover," I say No, and the State smiles and takes my money by force and violence and other lawful means, and says, not merely smiling, but smirking, "Now you have your principles and I have your money." But I do not go to the State when it does not come to me, and it is, like all States, a bad State and getting daily worse. Why don't I go and doctor it? It needs my cure. It suffers from depravity, and what do I do?—I go on giving it its allowance to pay for its depravities.

Cleo Blackburn used to call the Young Murgatroyds "the For-God's-Sakers" because they are always saying, "For God's sake, what are we waiting for?" What *are* we waiting for, for God's sake? If a Russian U-2 had flown over America, our blood-drinkers would have put the world to the torch in a split second; if it had been followed by a Russian RB-47 within a few miles of our coast, they would have set the world's ashes on fire.

Such men as Young Murgatroyd, fanatical, monotonous, and unmarried, are frightening. But the well-balanced men who want personal security (they call it national security) are more frightening because they lend themselves to the more frightening alternative. Were it not for the Murgatroyds, man would have no fixed point on earth to read the stars by. But as for the statesmen, the editors, the preachers—in one word, the Mayers—*their* place in the apocalyptic scheme was assigned them seven centuries ago:

. . . the wretched souls
who lived without infamy and without praise.
. . . joined with that choir of wicked angels
who were neither rebellious
nor faithful to God, but for themselves . . .

And where did the poet find them? In Hell? Not they; he found them locked outside Hell's entrance and envious even of those within:

The Heavens, to remain beautiful, drove them out,
nor would deep Hell receive them
lest the wicked gain pride by comparison . . .
Pity and justice alike disdain them.
These wretches, who had never really lived.

PROFITS AND PRINCIPLE ON TELEVISION

by Edward P. Morgan

SURELY one of the most bizarre bits of oratory ever to be dropped on the political scene was the phrase in candidate John Kennedy's acceptance speech in which he described a "new frontier" as a set of challenges summing up "not what I intend to offer the American people, but what I intend to ask of them . . . [appealing] to their pride, not their pocketbook . . . [holding] out the promise of more sacrifice instead of more security."

Can any politician, Republican or Democrat, deliver on such a promise which is so materially unpromising? Will the public accept what Kennedy says it needs: leadership instead of salesmanship? If so, then we must downgrade the utter commercialization which has come to dominate the American philosophy. It isn't the death of the salesman that is called for, however; it is rather a rebirth of principles which is required—principles that manage to rise, occasionally, even above the accepted nobility of the profit motive.

That won't be easy to do, and proof of the difficulty lies right here at my elbow, in the broadcasting business. Radio and television are dedicated to the often healthful exercise of selling products and making money. In return for being licensed to use a precious public commodity, the air, they are supposed to perform, among other things, a responsible public service for the balanced propagation of ideas and the honest dissemination of fact via the greatest device of communication yet invented.

But, though broadcasting occasionally lives up to its trust—as in the elaborate, expensive coverage of the political conventions—the drive for the mass market has been its major impulse. Result: a kind of spastic mediocrity, a sort of pablum of programming, with now and then an olive pit in it, a world in which a soap salesman becomes the arbiter of public taste, an account executive becomes the custodian of public morals, and a network censor sees to it that expression is free only when it doesn't offend anybody, especially a sponsor.

In a recently released study, the Fund for the Republic reports that the creative writer is being driven away from television because of commercial pressures restricting his free expression; "the power of the sponsor over the word," as critic Marya Mannes puts it; "the domination of the medium and of the networks by commercial interests."

Prize-winning TV dramatist Rod Serling reported in the study that fear of a product boycott in the South impelled the Theater Guild and the sponsor, U.S. Steel, to demand that he disguise beyond recognition a plot based on the Mississippi murder of a Negro youth named Emmett Till.

Not treated in the Fund study but revealed in some disturbing detail in his autobiography are the broadcasting experiences of entertainer Steve Allen.

ITEM: Because of some unfavorable publicity, one of his sponsors, the Chrysler Corporation, became alarmed after he signed a petition for clemency for Caryl Chessman due to his opposition to capital punishment and after he joined the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. He was first asked to withdraw, then obliged to agree, he said, not to join any more controversial organizations in the future.

ITEM: On a Christmas program Allen was forced by an ad agency representative to cut a reference to the "commercialization of Christmas" in a letter written to him by a high school boy in Toledo. The agency men objected to "all this stuff here about the business world getting the better of our spiritual lives."

What this country needs right now is the blade of intelligent controversy and the cutting edge of constructive self-criticism. The spongy comfort of our furniture is not nearly so debilitating as a softness of the national mind. The required corrections and improvements cannot be made so long as a sales graph is more important than public responsibility and common sense in determining the program content of broadcasting, or of any other medium serving the public. Profits are an important ingredient of our system, but they belong down in the queue, a little below principle. And the vitality of the American society does not completely depend on its volume of sales.

No matter whom we choose to lead us, the borders of the new frontier will be closed to us unless we accept these truths and act upon them.

This article is adapted from one of Mr. Morgan's nightly broadcasts over the ABC network. His program is sponsored by the AFL-CIO. — THE EDITORS.

the South's moment of truth

by LILLIAN SMITH

The student sit-in movement in the South, hardly half a year old, has exerted so great an impact on American life that it was the subject of bitter debate and platform pledges at both the Democratic and Republican national conventions this summer. In this article, adapted from a recent speech, Lillian Smith, the celebrated novelist who has lived all her life in the South, interprets the scope and significance of the extraordinary movement built on the doctrine of non-violent resistance.—THE EDITORS.

THE SOUTH and its people are facing a spiritual crisis. We have been in ordeal a long time and have had outbursts of violence and localized crises again and again: in Little Rock, Montgomery, Clinton, Nashville, Tallahassee, and in other areas of the South.

But what we are now facing is not localized and cannot be. It is something different, something that has not happened in this country before; it has a new quality of hope in it; and it is, I believe, of tremendous moral and political signficance. Somehow it is involving not only students but all of us, and there is a growing sense that what we say or fail to say, do or fail to do, will surely shape the events that lie ahead.

This hour of decision—and it is that for the South, certainly—was precipitated on February 1, by a Negro student, age eighteen, a freshman in a college in Greensboro, N. C. He had seen a documentary film on the life of Gandhi; he had heard about Montgomery and the non-violent protests made there; he had probably listened to Dr. Martin Luther King—certainly he knew about him; he had his memories of childhood and its racial hurts; and he had his hopes for the future. But millions of Southerners, young and old, and of both races, have had similar experiences. What else was there in this young student that caused him to be capable of this moment of truth? Courage, of course; and imagination, and intelligence—and enough love to respond to Gandhi's love of mankind, and enough truth-seeking in his mind to realize the meaning of Gandhi's teaching of non-violence and compassion and their redemptive and transforming power. Was this all the young man had? No, there was more: an indefinable, unpredictable potential for creating something new and lasting, and doing it at the right time. Every leader and every hero, and many artists and scientists, possess this talent for fusing their lives with the future. And yet, I doubt that the young man knew he possessed this special quality, or even now knows it.

In some strange way, however, his thoughts and memories and hopes came together and he talked about what was on his mind with three young friends. And a short time afterward, the four of them went on their historic journey to a Greensboro ten cent store.

From this small beginning, this almost absurd beginning, so incredibly simple and unpretentious that we Americans—used to the power of big names and money and crowds and Madison Avenue and Gallup Polls—can scarcely believe in it, there started the non-violent students' protests which have caught the imagination of millions of us.

Why are we stirred so deeply? What is it we feel? What are we hoping for? I cannot answer for you. For me, it is as if the *No Exit* sign is about to come down from our age; it is almost as if a door is opening in a wall where there was no door. The older generations, to which I belong, have found decisions so hard to make; they have wobbled in their beliefs; they have postponed the right action until the right time for it had passed. And now suddenly, completely unexpectedly, the students' sit-in protests began, spreading from college to college, school to school. It is exciting to watch them discover a freedom and purpose within themselves that they have not experienced in the outside world; to see them acting out, actually living, their beliefs in human dignity and democracy and in the redemptive power of love and non-violence, and going to jail for their beliefs.

I think what has impressed me most has been the way they have done this, and their attitude toward the white race. By their acts, they are saying something like this: "Look, I may be Negro and you may be white; but all of us are human beings; and because we are human, we have moral and intellectual potentialities; we can create our future, we don't have to be prisoners of our grandfathers' past. We who are young can free ourselves—you and me, white and Negro." By their acts, they are saying: "All of us — white and Negro—are dominated by white supremacy; all of us are crippled by segregation; all of us have lost our freedoms; freedom is like the air: we'll breathe this air, together, all of us—or we'll suffocate. You can't segregate a hunk of it for white folks and then tell the Negroes there's none left for them. Freedom is not an object: freedom is a relationship that each man creates with his world; freedom is a dialogue between man and his God; freedom is the sacred ground on which the human spirit lives. It can't be divided up; it is ours, together, or it is nobody's."

Thoughts like these are forming in

the students' minds as they live out their new purpose. Groping, slow words, maybe; faltering sentences, perhaps, for the language of the human spirit is complex and subtle, though its grammar is structurally simple and strong.

Wait now, you say: You are giving these students quite a build-up. Do you actually think they are so extraordinary? No, I don't. I think they are probably quite ordinary young people in most ways: they are extraordinary only in their awareness that the hour we live in is an hour calling for courage and commitment, and they are making their commitment, and in doing so they are finding their courage. Actually, I suspect they were pretty shaky, those first ones who walked in the stores with their books and their Bibles to make their protest. They probably didn't have a single grand, noble thought in their heads; they had made their decision in all earnestness and they were going through with it; and they were probably praying that they would find the strength just to sit there; just sit there, that's all. But afterward, they must have felt an exaltation; a sudden rush of both pride and humility.

We who have accused the young of hungering for security, of not really caring about the big important things of the spirit; we who have called the intellectual ones "beatniks" and the livelier ones "rock-n-rollers" may have been right four years ago, or even last year. But we are not right today. For what these students are doing in the South is awakening students in the North and the Midwest to action, and something is happening.

But even as I say this, I know the new life that is beginning, this spiritual renascence, can be snuffed out by you and me; by our apathy and stupidity and lack of imagination. I know police measures can become so cruel and massive and overwhelming that the students may not be able to take it. I am aware that a terrific effort will be made by certain powerful groups in the South who have close economic ties with the North to smother the movement by hushing the national press and the television networks. I know that a few men in strategic places, by saying irresponsible things, as former President Truman did recently, can throw pretty big obstacles in the students' path. There will be accusations of the most vicious kind, and misinterpretations, idiotic and dangerous, and there will be persistent persecution.

And it may be that these young students won't have the stamina to hold out. They may not find within themselves enough moral resources, enough psychic strength to carry them through the bitter and bleak days ahead of them. I know, too, that the white students of the South may not be able to break out of their apathy and moral paralysis in large enough numbers to help the young Negroes in this struggle for a new life, and without help the burdens may prove too heavy.

But I believe the movement *can succeed* if enough of us have the imagination to see its significance and its creative possibilities and to interpret these to others who do not see—and if we give the students the moral support and the money they are going to need. There is a tremendous power in the non-violent protest that the sensitive Southern conscience and heart will find hard to resist; but even so, the students may have to struggle a long time. They will need friends during their ordeal. Americans in other sections can help them and should, for this not only concerns the South, it concerns the entire nation and the nation's relationships with the rest of the world. It also concerns each person's relationship with himself and his beliefs.

But there are some things that only the South can do. Things that only good, responsible, decent Southerners can accomplish. Only they can create a new climate of opinion in which mob violence and the hoodlums and the police and the white Citizens Councils can be controlled; and they can do this only by breaking their silence and speaking out. To speak out for law and order is not enough, today; there is a higher law which we Southerners must take a stand on, a law that concerns justice and mercy and compassion and freedom of the spirit and mind. Thousands of us must also speak out against segregation as a way of life; not simply racial segregation but every form of estrangement that splits man and his world into fragments. The time has come when we must face the fact that only by speaking out our real beliefs, and then acting on them, can we avoid a bitter time of hate and violence and suffering.

But will the Southerners do it? I don't know. I hope so but I do not know.

Our responsible people are silent not because they are in the minority: they outnumber the demagogues and Klans and hoodlums and crackpots twenty to one. In their hands are the media of communication: the pulpits, the television and radio stations, the newspapers. They have the power and the money, the education and the technics to create an atmosphere of vigorous, healthy-minded concern wherein good words can be heard and the good act carried through; an atmosphere where people can plan, think clearly, and find ways to do what is right.

Why, then, are they silent? Why do they evade their responsibility at this time of crisis?

Is it fear? I don't think so. I think it is anxiety. There is a vast difference between the two.

It is difficult to analyze a complex state of mind in just a few paragraphs but let me try: We white people of the South think of ourselves as free but we are chained to taboos and to superstitions and weakened by memories and beliefs that are in passionate conflict with each other.

The tragedy of the South lies just here: segregation has made psychic and moral slaves of so many of us. We think we are a free people but we have lost our freedom to question, to learn, to do what our conscience tells us is right, to criticize ourselves. We are torn apart inside by a conflict that never lets up, and we wall our minds off into segregated compartments. How can a man believe simultaneously in brotherhood and racial

discrimination, in human freedom and forced segregation? How can he fight Communist dictatorship and surrender himself to the dictatorship of an idea like white supremacy? How can he do and think these things and fail to see the moral inconsistency, the intellectual absurdity of his position?

But many Southerners can. And some of them are educated men who think of themselves as the community's moral and civic leaders. But the psychic result has been that a deep anxiety possesses them and they feel that any change would be only for the worse. When they are asked why they fear the crumbling of segregation they cannot tell you that what they really fear is the crumbling of the walls inside them. Instead, they talk about inter-marriage. It makes poor sense, but they think it explains their acute anxiety.

But there are other Southerners who have changed, who don't like discrimination, who don't believe in segregation. I am often asked, "Why don't they say so?" Some are speaking out, of course; hundreds of them; others want to but they are afraid they will do "more harm than good." Here, once again, we have the result of a rigid, inflexible training in early childhood, given to us during a time of panic and dread. I was born at the turn of the century when the first segregation statutes were being put on the law books of the Southern states. During the first ten years of my life there were a thousand lynchings in the South. It was in this atmosphere of terror and brutality, of internal and external disorder, that we were taught our lessons in segregation. No wonder so many Southerners of my age cling to it. We were told as children never to question it, never to talk about it. This silence that is today so dangerous to us and so puzzling to others is a built-in silence; its foundations go down to babyhood; to our mother's hushed whispering; there is a hypnotic quality about such learning and only the rebellious mind, the critical intelligence, or the loving heart can defy it.

The truth is that our parents and grandparents paid a terrible price for a security which they believed segregation could give them. When they permitted the system to be set up, they did not foresee that emergency measures would be frozen permanently into state laws. They did not dream that segregation would become a ritual so sacred that it would be given priority over the teachings of Christ in our churches. They did not know a time was ahead when the politician would exert more moral force than the preacher. The price our fathers paid for security was exorbitant; their white children are still paying today. They have been as surely injured in mind and spirit by segregation as have Negro children: both have been warped, both have been kept from a free, creative life; both find it difficult to be courageous, strong individuals who can defy conformity and find their own responses to the world.

But some white Southerners are speaking out, and more would if they could hear others do so. There is a serious lack of communication between liberal Southerners. We can't hear each other speak because there are so few places where the person who opposes segregation can speak in the South. The local radio and TV forums have not as yet been opened up to many white Southerners who oppose segregation; nor have the national forums been opened to them. Again and again, on TV, the nation sees Senator Talmadge and Senator Eastland and other racial demagogues and hears them say the same old things they have said for years about mongrelization. Why can't we have a change? There are eloquent and courageous young ministers in the South who oppose segregation, who have something fresh to tell the country. They would give encouragement to those in the South who have never heard any Southerner state in a public speech that he is opposed to segregation. This is one way to help break the taboo of silence.

Once the silence is broken the South will change quickly. More quickly than we think. There are so many ready for change: thousands of ministers who have taken a good stand; hundreds who preach strong, eloquent sermons against segregation; there are close to a hundred thousand women in Georgia who are willing to give up segregation in all public places, including the schools; and there are hundreds of them working hard every day to rid our state of a system that has hurt everybody. These women are informed; they have thought and studied and examined their own souls, many of them, and have given their children better training in human relations—certainly in terms of race—than my generation had.

It is important for us to break the word "South" into a thousand pieces: not only geographically, but economically; not only culturally; not only in terms of the sexes; not only vocationally; not only psychologically; but into generations: there are gradations of opinion in all of these groups, and gradations of moral strength. What is terrifying to the older generation doesn't bother the young students; what paralyzes the men often releases the women; the poor and ignorant often feel a psychic and social hunger to belong "to the white race" as if it were a club, while the more sophisticated, the more secure economically and culturally, do not have this need; their sense of "belonging" has come to them in other ways. In certain areas of work, there is no racial competition; in others the competition is severe and exacerbates dormant race feelings. And, too, differences go beyond the groups; the South is chockfull of individuals each with his own ideas—this, despite our somewhat totalitarian training and our one-party political system. People may act the same under pressures and not feel the same or believe the same or have the same values. (This may be as true of Russia as it is of the South.) The false lumping of all Southerners together by those who speak and write of us is not a good thing and makes for identifications which we don't feel.

And while we are speaking of these

matters: the vocabulary used by nearly everyone today divides the South into three moral categories: the two extremes and the moderates. This is not only false but dangerous, for as people use these words, the two kinds of "extremists" are supposed to be equally dangerous people who talk too much; and the "moderates" are supposed to be the "nice people" who don't talk at all—but who are being urged to speak out; yet if they speak out, of course they must move over into the "extremist" groups. As many people use the words, an "extremist" who actually says segregation is wrong is put into the moral category of the "hoodlums and dynamiters." The situation is murky enough, twisted as it is by ambiguities and inconsistencies; we should not make it more so by the language we use. I think that commentators and reporters could bring a little more clarity into the situation—perhaps a great deal more—by taking these words and throwing them into the waste basket. It is quite possible to talk about the South without using them; at least, I have found it possible to write and speak without using them.

These differences I have been speaking of are potentially good; this lack of conformity in feelings and beliefs keeps the door ajar. All our Southern people need is something that will fire their imagination and stir their good feelings, until leaders can rise up and open the way. That is why I have such hopes for the students' non-violent protests. If white students will join with Negro students, their experiences together, their self-discipline and philosophical training will create a fine reservoir of new leadership for the South. We cannot change the South until we change our leadership and ourselves; we, as a region, can have our moment of truth only when we begin to think of ourselves as persons, when we open up our imaginations and our hearts, by taking the walls down within us. Then it will come. And it will be a healing time for us and perhaps for the whole world, for we are so sensitized one to another, so closely related, with the common purpose of creating a future, that whatever brings wholeness to us as persons will bring wholeness to others across the world.

'Peace by Deterrent'

by HELEN MEARS

It was during the climactic week in July when the Congo and Cuba were making especially grim headlines that my friend, Mr. Rau, a newspaper man from India, dropped in to chat. As always, he carried a sheaf of newspapers to use in our discussions of what he often felt were oddities in United States foreign policy and attitudes. At that moment, however, I was thinking about Soviet, rather than United States, policy. I had thought that Khrushchev's warning to the United States not to intervene in Cuba, accompanied by mention of rockets, was an inexcusable provocation, bound to infuriate both the U.S. government and public opinion, and certainly no contribution to the reduction of tensions. I greeted Mr. Rau by asking him what he thought about Mr. Khrushchev's warning.

To my astonishment, Mr. Rau said that he thought it might be rather helpful.

"Helpful!" I repeated. "What in the world do you mean by that?"

"I mean," replied Mr. Rau, "that it would be useful if you Americans could be made to see how your own policies look to other people. Now, don't misunderstand me. As an individual, and as an Indian, I consider Khrushchev's statement to be reckless and provocative. But I am thinking in global terms. I believe that if the U.S. government is ever going to design a constructive foreign policy you Americans must learn how reckless and provocative your own policies often appear to much of the world."

I interrupted. "But this time it is not a United States policy under discussion. This was a statement by Nikita Khrushchev. He said bluntly that the U.S. government must keep hands off Cuba. He said that the U.S.S.R. had rockets which could reach everywhere. This certainly sounds like an accusation and a threat. Such statements naturally would make all of us furious."

"Exactly." Mr. Rau said this with satisfaction, as though I had strengthened his argument. "Such a declaration from Khrushchev was bound to make your government and people furious. Yet, actually what Mr. Khrushchev did was simply apply to the United States a principle which your own government has asserted incessantly to the U.S.S.R. and China—a principle which is the basis of your foreign policy."

"And what principle is that?" I asked.

"Deterrence by threat of massive retaliation. This principle was asserted years ago by your then Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Your government has repeatedly asserted it to warn both Peking and Moscow that their intervention in various situations in the Far East or in Southeast Asia would result in the United States retaliating massively with rockets or missiles or bombs or whatever was handiest. Now Khrushchev is applying your own principle to you. It makes you angry. Of course, it made Moscow and Peking angry when your government applied it to them. And I must say that just as Mr. K's current threat sounds provocative to me, so

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also does the U.S. government sound provocative when it sends out similar warnings."

"But Mr. Rau," I protested, "when my government makes such threats it doesn't intend actually to do anything. It only issues such warnings to deter Moscow and Peking from aggression."

"Exactly," said Mr. Rau triumphantly. "Mr. K doesn't intend to do anything either. He was merely making his threat as a deterrent. Or probably he did it simply to show your government that two could play at this 'peace by deterrent' game. After all, your government has been saying for years that the threat to use massive force is the best way to keep peace."

"But Mr. Rau," I protested again, "the U.S. government doesn't need to be deterred. The United States did not intend to use force against the Cuban government. As our State Department said, Khrushchev just made this charge to justify his own intervention in the Western hemisphere."

Mr. Rau held up his hand and shook it vigorously. "Point one," he said. "It may well be true that your government did not intend to intervene with force against the Castro government. But it is a fact that many American news commentators seemed to believe that your government was seriously considering doing so. Judging by your press, many Americans not only would not be shocked by the idea that your government might use force, but vigorously urged such a policy. So do not take the self-righteous attitude that your government would not dream of using force. Your Undersecretary of State, Douglas Dillon, made the flat statement that 'Mr. Khrushchev ought to know that the United States will never be deterred by any threats of his from protecting its own interests. . . .'

"Now for point two. You say that Khrushchev made his charge — that the United States intended intervention—only to justify his own intervention. This, of course, is what Mr. K has said repeatedly about the charges made against the U.S.S.R. by the U.S. government. From the point of view of an individual in a neutral position, it seems to me that these two governments merely hurl the same charges at each other — and neither side bothers to present any evidence. But, in any case, let us not get sidetracked by the problem of whether or not your government might use force against the Castro government in this particular instance. What I am more interested in is the problem of how the governments of all the nations are going to find principles of international law and practice that will really work to keep the peace, and prevent the exploitation of any nation by any other."

"That," I responded, "is exactly what my government wants."

"No doubt. But your government also seems to want other things which are incompatible with this goal. For example, your government spokesmen issued statements claiming to be shocked at Khrushchev's threats. Your State Department issued a statement replying to Mr. K which said that 'the threat of the use of force made so blatantly by the Soviet chairman in relation to the affairs of nations of the Western Hemisphere is contrary to the basic principles of the United Nations Charter, which rejects the use of force in the settlement of international disputes. This naked menace to world peace brandished so callously by the Soviet leader reveals the hypocrisy of his protestations in behalf of peace.'"

Mr. Rau waved his newspaper clipping excitedly. "Now that," he said, "seems to me one of the most remarkable examples of self-condemnation ever issued by a responsible government. It is all over the official record that it was the U.S. government which initiated the principle of deterrence by the threat of massive retaliation. Your government has repeatedly and incessantly made threats to use force against the Soviet and Chinese governments if they should intervene in some situation in the Far East or Indochina, where the U.S. government claims to have special interests. Of course such statements by your government made the Russians and Chinese furious—just as Mr. K's similar statement makes your government furious. But beyond this, your government is saying now that such threats are contrary to the law of the United Nations Charter. And if they are contrary to such law when made by Khrushchev, are they not similarly contrary to U.N. law when made by your government? In thus charging Khrushchev with breaking the law of the United Nations Charter, your government is unwittingly confessing its own similar guilt.

"The point, as I see it," Mr. Rau went on, "is that this episode makes it clear that such threats to use force as a deterrent—no matter who makes them to whom—not only do not contribute to world peace but vastly increase the antagonisms and fears that increase the danger of war. As a principle of international practice, deterrence by threat of massive retaliation should be officially condemned and renounced by all governments. And when I say renounced, I mean that governments should stop asserting such a principle. It would do no harm either if they would return to the law of the United Nations Charter which governments generally praise so highly, yet ignore so systematically."

I thought about this for a moment. "Well," I said, "of course I agree that no government should threaten to use force against any other government. But it seems to me that in this case Khrushchev made it worse because he was trying to intervene in the Western Hemisphere, in fact, right in the United States' own backyard, where he certainly has no business."

Mr. Rau shrugged. "And why hasn't he? Your own government has intervened incessantly and massively in situations in Asia which are distant from the United States and in the backyard of both China and the U.S.S.R. Your government pointed out that Cuba was less than a hundred miles from the United States. Well, Quemoy and Matsu are less than five miles from mainland China. You Americans seem to have two entirely different sets of principles for your international relations—one set that applies to your own policies, and another for other governments.

"Moreover, your government claims to act within the law of the United Nations Charter. But it happens that the U.S.S.R. is one of the permanent members of the Security Council, which is charged with the primary responsibility for maintaining the

peace. So under the United Nations Charter the Soviet government clearly has a right to be concerned about any situation which it sincerely believes threatens to lead to international conflict.

"Of course—and I repeat this to emphasize that sometimes I find you have some difficulty in separating analysis from personal preference and emotion—in this particular instance it seems to me that Khrushchev's method of expressing concern was contrary to the law of the Charter as well as morally reprehensible. But we are talking of the *right* of the U.S.S.R., under the Charter, to be concerned with Latin American problems. And your government appears to be trying to establish as a principle the idea that a government, because it is Communist, thereby forfeits some of its rights under international law. This principle can hardly be reconciled with the United Nations Charter, since the U.S.S.R., among other Communist-governed states, is a charter member."

"But, Mr. Rau," I said, "in the Western Hemisphere, all of the governments are agreed that they will not permit any Communist government to intervene in any Western Hemisphere country. In other words, it is not only the U.S. government which tells the Soviet Union to keep hands off, it is all of the Latin American governments."

"Precisely." Mr. Rau again seemed to think I had clinched his argument. "It is true, as you say, that all of the Latin American governments approve of your Monroe Doctrine, which in effect puts a verbal curtain around the Western Hemisphere and says Keep Off to other governments. But it is also true that these same Latin American governments do not feel that any Asian government, or association of Asian governments, has a similar right to say Keep Off to non-Asian governments. Take the important problem of China. It has been the votes of the Latin American bloc in the United Nations that have enabled the U.S. government to exclude the actual government of China from membership in that international body, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of Asian nations want the real government of China admitted to the United Nations. Wouldn't you call this direct interference in the affairs of China, and Asia, by the geographically distant Latin American governments? Exclusion doctrines—if they are to be accepted as principle—must work both ways. If the Latin American governments have the right to declare that their affairs are off limits for other governments, then, similarly, Asian governments must have the same right. The Latin American governments cannot expect to remain aloof indefinitely from international interference while they themselves are interfering decisively in all-important problems of other nations."

I thought it over. "What are you proposing?" I asked. "Are you suggesting that there ought to be an Asia-for-the-Asians doctrine, as there is a Western-Hemisphere-for-the-Americans doctrine?"

"What I personally would desire is a different question. I was discussing the inconsistencies of governments in asserting their principles. If I could remold the world I should do away with the exclusion principle of regional groupings. I should strengthen the technical committees of the United Nations and give them authority and financial support to work to solve the serious problems which lead to international disputes and domestic unrest. I should develop a United Nations civil service which could step into administrative posts where such expert and impartial assistance was necessary. But first of all I should outlaw both the Communist and the anti-Communist crusades, both of which are clearly contrary to the 'law' of the United Nations Charter."

Mr. Rau laughed as he continued. "I know how easy it is to make such suggestions, and how difficult it is to put them into practice. But the first step in working for peace is for people—ordinary people—to face up to the sort of attitudes and policies, so characteristic of many governments today, which make it impossible even to begin to work out better policies. And if Khrushchev's application of the principle of deterrence by threat of massive retaliation could help Americans realize how destructive such a principle is, then perhaps you Americans would put pressure on your own government to discard this destructive principle. It is certain that no government is likely to develop constructive principles so long as it clings to destructive ones."

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captains in revolt

by H. W. BENSON

ALMOST from the moment the AFL merged with the CIO, the new, giant labor organization took strong measures to clean its own house of the racketeers and the hoodlums. There were codes and resolutions, suspensions and expulsions. But experience has proved that action by top union officials is not enough; reform from above has reached an impasse. The first round is over.

The next round requires a summons to local leaders and active militants among the rank and file union members. And there are thousands of them prepared to fight for decency in their unions. Sometimes, alone and unaided by unionism elsewhere, they conquer entrenched corruption. A prime example is the case of the Masters, Mates, and Pilots Union, AFL-CIO. In 1953, this union received great notoriety for voting against the expulsion of the corrupt International Longshoremen's Association from the AFL. In 1960, it seems about to become the first international to be restored to decency and democracy by its own rank and file, unaided by a single top official.

Last spring, when the ballots were counted in New York's MMP Local 88, a rank and file reform ticket, the Party for Union Democracy, had won a remarkable victory for democracy after a battle against corruption which began in 1952. The reformers had succeeded in electing a president, business manager, and first vice-president. Only one top post went to the corrupt incumbents. Of seven seats on the local's executive board, the Party for Union Democracy won four.

Men in their forties make up the new administration, men who became seamen in their youth and have been union men for twenty years or more. None has ever held high union office before. Their platform demanded honest hiring in a local whose former president had sold jobs; the restoration of autonomy where a trustee appointed by the international had arbitrarily ruled for two years; and a multi-party system, a startling proposal in a labor movement ruled normally by so-called "one-party governments." During the trusteeship, their paid local staff was appointed and controlled by the trustee; membership meetings were cancelled; five reform leaders had been expelled. But they never surrendered; they maintained their caucus; they published newspapers and handbills; and, in the end, they won.

The International Organization of Masters, Mates, and Pilots, with a national membership of some 11,000, holds a strategic position in the maritime industry. On each freighter, tanker, and passenger liner, four men hold full authority and responsibility: the master, popularly known as the captain, and his three mates. They represent the top maritime craft. In New York, Local 88 with more than 1,800 members enrolls nearly one-fifth of the national membership. Its reform victory portends a revamping of the International.

Why is such a union in ferment? Give any union member "his"—goes a familiar argument—and he is indifferent to how the official gets "his." And that, the argument cynically concludes, is why union corruption is tolerated. But in Local 88, that explanation has a hollow ring. An average master or chief mate earns $12,000 to $14,000 a year. For many, the pay alone was not enough. They wanted decency too.

The story began in 1952 when an opposition slate ran against the local administration, demanding democracy at meetings, honest hiring procedures, stricter accounting of union funds, and vigorous contract enforcement. After the elections, when they were declared defeated, the insurgents formed a continuing caucus. "Is the two-party system possible in Local 88?" they asked in a handbill. "In every nation in the free world there are two or more parties. Only in Russia is there only one party." Before their mimeograph ink was dry, five reform leaders were expelled for "dual unionism," "unauthorized meetings," and similar offenses. No one in the official liberal or labor world paid the slightest attention; there was not a ripple of protest.

But the five men were not completely alone. They were spurred on by members of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists which, in New York, had attracted a group of young students devoted to more than formal religiosity. The militant young Catholics put their meager resources —a mimeograph machine, a typewriter, a meeting hall—at the disposal of the reform unionists. They appealed to labor attorney John Harold, who represented the five reformers for six years without a fee and even paid out-of-pocket expenses himself.

Abruptly, in the fall of 1956, the reformers were publicly vindicated. Local 88 President C. T. Atkins (also international president), who had presided over the expulsions, and a local job dispatcher were arrested for selling jobs. The trial disclosed a long criminal record for Atkins: highway robbery, larceny, assault, and embezzlement.

For a year after Atkins' arrest, nothing altered the union's routine, as though its top local and international official had never been indicted for graft. Atkins continued to chair the international executive committee until December, 1957, when he resigned after insistent private prodding from George Meany. But he remained president of the local. While on trial for job-selling, he continued to dis-

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patch from the union's hiring hall. After his conviction, he continued to preside at local meetings, and the local executive board planned to restore him to office upon his release from prison.

The local board's placid corruption was disrupted when the reformers, after a four year battle, won a decisive case in the New York State court of appeals. The five expelled men were ordered reinstated and awarded damages. Early in 1958, they were available to give new leadership against the exposed Atkins regime, and events moved rapidly to a showdown.

On March 6, 1958, the executive board members decided to sacrifice the convicted officials—Atkins and the job dispatcher—in order to hold on to their power. They—including Atkins himself—signed a resolution calling upon the international to take over the local "upon the express condition that Captain Roy Lurvey will be appointed as trustee." Later in the New York Supreme Court, Judge Baker commented, ". . . none of the signers of this resolution contemplated a trusteeship in the true sense. . . . Lurvey was to be trustee in name only, and . . . the local officials were to continue in actual control."

It was too patent a fraud. Six days later, a large membership meeting suspended the old officials and elected new ones. But the international, which had patiently tolerated corruption, moved quickly to defend the old regime against the insurgents. Local autonomy was instantly lifted; Lurvey, the man suggested by Atkins, was rushed in as trustee. Lurvey acted promptly to smash the reformers. He tacked up a warning: "Anyone posting or passing out scurrilous literature, or soliciting funds from brother members on the premises of the local or aboard contracted ships, will be brought up on charges and taken off the Night Mate list."

At the MMP convention in July, at which Lurvey was the self-appointed delegate from Local 88, a new constitutional clause was devised to take care of the dissidents in Local 88. The trustee was empowered to bring any member of the local to trial before a special drumhead court set up by the international executive committee. Among the acts newly categorized as crimes were "gross disloyalty, or conduct unbecoming a member; abuse of fellow members and officers by written or oral communication; activities which tend to bring the local organization of the international organization into disrepute."

Resentment against the trusteeship mounted. Pressures on Lurvey became intolerable, and he resigned, to be replaced by Charles M. Crooks, a local official from the West Coast.

Somewhere there must have been a slip-up; perhaps the harried international officialdom was momentarily confused or off guard. In any case, the new trustee had good intentions. Instead of threatening new expulsions, he admitted old injustices. "These men," he wrote of the expelled reformers, "were damaged by the officials of Local 88 at the time of their expulsion." He was asked to put the reform leaders on trial and deprive them of their right to speak, vote, and hold office. He refused. Later in court, he agreed to an election under impartial auspices. But the active membership would not trust him because he was an international appointee; the international did not trust him because he would not use the iron fist.

Crooks resigned as trustee and went back to the West Coast to find that the president of his local, Robert Durkin, was campaigning against him. (Durkin is president of the International, too.) Crooks organized his own caucus and, campaigning on a platform of democracy and reform, was elected patrolman against the opposition of the Durkin administration. Crooks and his friends set up their caucus as a permanent institution and now publish a paper, *The Main Channel*.

While these important reform movements were rising on both coasts, an insurgent group organized itself in Texas' Local 20. On December 10, 1958, the new International president, Durkin, received an angry letter from Joseph H. Tupper, who leveled serious charges against his local president, Robert L. Jones, a member of the International executive committee. Sixty MMP members in Houston, reported Tupper, demanded an investigation of illegal shipping practices. When the International cleared Jones, Tupper was staggered. "The International," announced his friends in a handbill, "has betrayed Local 20's membership in the same fashion it betrayed Local 88's." The Texans organized a Committee for Integrity and sought cooperation with Local 88.

Here, then, is an international union being reshaped by simultaneous waves of rank and file reform. It was triggered by Local 88 where an effective combination of persistent union militants and socially conscious professionals triumphed over bureaucrats and crooks. This movement has not enjoyed the slightest aid or encouragement from high officials in labor. On the contrary, when Atkins, on trial for grafting, needed good character witnesses, Paul Hall, head of the Seafarers International Union, came to his aid. In April, 1958, the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department complimented the Local 88 trusteeship in an open letter. But why no help for the reformers? Nothing can adequately explain away that failure. Sometimes it is argued that the AFL-CIO has no power of subpoena and cannot gather the facts; but here the evidence was spread out publicly, and was readily available. Too many respected labor officials feel uneasy before the democratic striving of rank and file reformers and are reluctant to stimulate or assist them. Sometimes, as in Chicago's Lodge 113 of the International Association of Machinists, where two reform leaders remain expelled to this day, high placed federation leaders repress them with impatience.

There are decent and democratic union leaders who sympathize genuinely with reform elements in other unions, but it remains a passive sympathy, barred from public expression by the diplomatic considerations that govern relations among the various officialdoms. In the MMP, rank and filers have had to fight the battle for decency and democracy by themselves, and they have given a spur to union idealists elsewhere. There was no help from the AFL-CIO or its ethical practices committee.

What of tomorrow? Will these democratic unionists, and others like them, get help? And from whom? The future of labor's war on corruption is at stake.

DISCORD on SUNDAY

by MURRAY FRIEDMAN

ONE SUNDAY last summer, Justice of the Peace Earl B. Dougherty decided to demonstrate the ridiculousness of Pennsylvania's blue law banning wordly employment on Sunday. Starting out in his car at nine in the morning, with a thick bundle of mimeographed "conviction on view" notices on the seat beside him, the Bucks County squire tagged a radio announcer, reporters who followed him, guards at the strikebound Fairless Works of United States Steel, and owners and employees of a variety of businesses. By the end of the day, he had handed out 225 notices and had become the center of a raging controversy in the state.

One of Squire Dougherty's "victims" was the comedienne, Peggy Cass, who had been appearing in the play, *Born Yesterday*. Soon after, in reply to a question from Jack Paar on his television show, Miss Cass said she had no intention of returning to Pennsylvania to pay the fine. "I'm supposed to have a bit of influence," Paar said. He scrawled across the face of the notice, "Null and void."

The issue, however, is not so easily dismissed. In many parts of the country, the coercive power of government is being employed increasingly to bring God into the affairs of man. Whether the issue be the reading of a passage from the Bible in a public school, the erection of a creche at Christmas on a city hall lawn, or enforcement of blue laws, as in Bucks County, interreligious conflict is beginning to rival interracial difficulties as a source of community tension. In the case of blue laws, political and economic pressures have become intertwined with the religious issue so that in a number of states Sunday has become a battleground as well as a day of rest and worship.

Sunday closing has its origin in one of the Ten Commandments — "Six days may work be done; but in the seventh is the sabbath of rest, holy to the Lord." The first Sunday law was enacted in 320 A.D. when Constantine embraced Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire. The concept received rigorous enforcement in colonial New England where the "Puritan Oligarchy" reigned supreme. The viewpoint expressed by Cotton Mather—that "our whole religion fares according to our Sabbath"—was widely recognized; today twenty-four states have some form of Sunday work and recreation regulations.

In recent years blue laws have been amended to permit the performance of sports and other amusements and exemptions have been obtained by certain businesses and occupations. As a result, blue laws have become a hodge-podge of inconsistencies. Commenting on the Massachusetts law, a Federal jurist recently noted it is illegal to dig for clams on Sunday but not to dredge for oysters. Bakeries can remain open but not certain delicatessens. Over the years, Sunday laws have been only sporadically enforced.

Following World War II, two developments created renewed interest in them. The preoccupation with man's fate, sometimes referred to as the revival of religion, has resulted in widespread efforts to plug up holes in America's moral defenses. The second is the revolution in American buying habits. With the movement to the suburbs, the idea of one-stop-and-park Sunday shopping has grown in popularity. The last few years have seen the rise of farmers' markets and discount department store chains such as E. J. Korvette, Two Guys From Harrison, and Bargain City, U.S.A. Situated frequently on cheap land alongside highways just outside large cities, with plenty of free parking space and prices well below downtown department stores, these chains present an irresistible lure to shoppers.

Faced by this growing threat, big city downtown department stores, which are generally closed on Sunday, have sought enforcement of Sunday laws and strengthening of their penalties. They have been joined by labor unions eager to shorten the work week, church groups (especially the more fundamentalist sects), rural and small town folk who resent the intrusion of bargain-type business, and small retailers who prefer to stay closed on Sunday. Opposing them are discount chains and farmers' markets, minority religious groups such as Jews and Seventh Day Adventists, and civil libertarians.

Pennsylvania has been the scene of one of the most bitter of these battles. It began in the fall of 1957 when Two Guys From Harrison, a large New Jersey discount chain, opened a branch near Allentown in the heart of Pennsylvania's "Bible Belt." Within a short time, Two Guys' business soared past the $12 million mark and threatened Hess Brothers, the largest department store in the area. Owner Max Hess, known for his aggressive merchandising, responded to the challenge by threatening in a newspaper advertisement to open on Sunday. Shortly afterwards, several employees of Two Guys were arrested and fined $4 each plus court costs under a law enacted in 1794 following a yellow fever epidemic believed to be "a scourge on a wicked people."

The entrance of Two Guys into Pennsylvania and the growth of other discount operations in the state crystallized the formation of a statewide coalition to work for a new blue law with a "Sunday punch." It consisted of representatives of the Pennsylvania American Federation of Labor, the

MURRAY FRIEDMAN is Pennsylvania area director for the American Jewish Committee.

Catholic Church, the Pennsylvania Retailers Association, and the Lord's Day Alliance of Pennsylvania. The last group, headed by Reverend Melvin M. Forney, is the voice of rural, up-state elements that seek not only the enforcement and strengthening of blue laws but the banning of organized sports, the sale of liquor, and horse racing with pari-mutuel betting on Sunday.

At the 1959 legislative session, an amendment to the old blue law was introduced which spelled out specific merchandise that could not be sold on Sunday at retail, including clothing and wearing apparel, furniture, housewares, hardware, tools, paints, and jewelry. Novelties were exempted. The new measure raised the fine for such sales to $100 for the first offense, and $200 and a thirty-day jail sentence for subsequent violations.

Governor David Lawrence, a Democrat and a Catholic who had narrowly won election in a predominantly Protestant state (some say with Reverend Forney's assistance), quickly announced his support.

The bill slipped through the Senate almost unnoticed. But a battle broke out in the House. At the head of the supporters of the bill stood one of Philadelphia's leading citizens and Democratic Party fund-raisers, Albert M. Greenfield, who had come to the United States in the Eastern European Jewish migration at the turn of the century. Greenfield has built a vast real estate and financial empire which consists of downtown department stores like Bonwit Teller, Oppenheim Collins & Co., Lit Brothers, and Snellenbergs, as well as other enterprises. Active in many Philadelphia civic and philanthropic endeavors—he spearheaded the Society Hill urban renewal program in "center city"—Greenfield views the rise of the discount department store business as dooming downtown Philadelphia to decay.

The anti-blue law forces were led by William H. Sylk of Philadelphia, president of Bargain City, U.S.A., and active in other business enterprises. Bargain City—there are now ten of these discount department stores in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and New Jersey—leases space to merchants, which enables Sylk to declare he is battling for the small businessman against the department stores. Newspapermen covering the Sunday law fight, however, saw it as a struggle between Greenfield and Sylk and labeled it "the battle of the millionaires."

Greenfield personally took charge of the effort to push the bill through. He traveled to Harrisburg to testify before the House Rules Committee and wrote a four-page letter to each member of the Democratic-controlled House. The anti-blue law forces were also well organized. An advertising agency was hired to organize and direct a flow of mail to legislators.

At the height of the House battle, there was an outbreak of enforcement of the 1794 law, including Squire Dougherty's highly publicized raids. Dauphin County (Harrisburg) District Attorney Huette F. Dowling branded these wholesale arrests "an organized move by the discount boys of Philadelphia to make the law look ridiculous." Sylk refused to dignify these charges by comment and charged Dowling publicly with working with "big business interests."

At the public hearings on the bill, Jewish and Seventh Day Adventist leaders pleaded for defeat of the bill. They pointed out it would place Saturday sabbath observers at an economic disadvantage. "It is no easy thing to observe Saturday as a day of rest in our society," said Rabbi Moses J. Burak, president of the Rabbinical Association of Philadelphia. "Still, those who are faithful to Judaism make that sacrifice on the altar of conscience and religious duty. My people are carrying a considerable burden, and we ought not to increase it to the breaking point." Discount chain spokesmen and other merchants argued for letting the consumer decide whether or not to shop on Sunday.

Scores of large and small businessmen, chambers of commerce, and labor union officials, however, registered their approval of the bill. Church leaders testified there is nothing in it that would force a person to go to church on Sunday or interfere with the right of an orthodox or conservative Jew to worship on Saturday.

When the bill was reported to the floor, an amendment supported by Jewish leaders was introduced to exempt those "persons who conscientiously observe the seventh day of the week" as their sabbath. A similar exemption is in force in twelve of the twenty-four states with Sunday laws. This produced an angry charge from one legislator that there were those who were implying "there is something wrong with the Lord's Day." The amendment was defeated 116-68, and the bill went on to easy passage and signature by the Governor. Ironically, other legislation was enacted at the behest of hotel associations and chambers of commerce to liberalize the blue law to permit the sale of liquor and to permit harness racing with pari-mutuel betting on Sunday.

The new law not only brought no end to the controversy but compounded the confusion. Sunday sellers must now determine which items can be sold and which, if sold, will bring $4 or $100 fines. In Philadelphia, Mayor Richardson Dilworth announced the city would move against the "Godless competition" of discount houses but not "mom and pop" stores. Police officials, plagued with serious crime, have been reluctant to arrest Sunday sellers. Litigation has further tied up enforcement.

Passage of the new Sunday closing law intensified the Jewish community's feeling of difference. Even Jews who are not Saturday observers resent being compelled to cease from business and limit their shopping on the Christian sabbath. This feeling has been heightened by the public reaction to a recent decision of a Federal court banning the reading of the Bible in the Pennsylvania public schools. Implicit in many of the editorial and pulpit discussions of the Bible reading case and blue law controversy is the belief that Jews have prospered in a "Christian society" and owe it to their neighbors not to insist upon their rights in matters deemed fundamental to the Christian majority.

Notwithstanding, five orthodox Jewish merchants in Philadelphia

have brought action in the courts to have the Sunday law declared unconstitutional. They argue that they are victims of religious discrimination since they are forced to close on Sunday while their religious beliefs require them to remain closed on Friday night and Saturday. They have also pointed to the religious origin of Sunday laws and argue that these laws elevate Sunday to the status of an official religion, thereby running afoul of the First Amendment barring the establishment of religion. This case, together with others from Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Maryland, is now before the U.S. Supreme Court, which is expected to rule on them this fall.

The constitutionality of Sunday laws has never been determined by the high court. Generally, lower Federal courts have upheld these laws on the grounds that a state, under its police powers, may require one day of rest for its citizens for reasons of public health and safety. And, since Sunday is a day convenient for most people, the argument goes, a state can designate that day for rest. The constitutionality of Sunday closing, however, has been shaken in a significant decision handed down by a lower Federal court in Massachusetts. The majority of this court held that the Bay State's Lord's Day Act favored one religion over another and was so riddled with exemptions and restrictions that it denied the orthodox Jewish plaintiffs and their customers equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

As the decision of the high court is awaited, the movement to enforce and strengthen Sunday laws continues to gain momentum. Sunday closing majorities are easily obtained in legislatures and in referenda. The broader issue, however, has been posed by Herbert Ehrmann, attorney for the orthodox Jewish plaintiffs in the Massachusetts case and president of the American Jewish Committee, who pointed out it was Jesus who enunciated the principle, "Do unto others that which you would have them do unto you." So it is, he said, "that I feel the First and Fourteenth Amendments are there to translate into the basic law of our country the concept that just because you have a majority, you don't . . . take advantage of a minority . . ."

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

'The Hurt Goes Deep'

Dear Sirs:

Almost four years ago I had occasion to write: "The cost of the 1956 election was not that the Democrats lost a Presidential election—there will be other elections in the future. The question is, will there be other Stevensons?" The apparent answer is no.

This year Adlai Stevenson himself was again available. "Do not turn away from this man," pleaded Senator Eugene McCarthy in his nominating speech. "Do not leave this prophet without honor in his own party." The party had its opportunity; it had its responsibility. It failed to recognize the one, and it was uninterested in the other.

In light of Stevenson's stature and eminence, in light of the extraordinary devotion and loyalty he has inspired and continues to inspire, in light of his conduct over the years which "made us all proud to be called Democrats," one might reasonably suppose that his party would make its declination, if it felt it must, only reluctantly, for seemingly compelling reasons, and on an agonized note of high principle. Let the governor of Pennsylvania indicate the quality of the principles involved: "I have said ever since 1952 that I believe Stevenson was the best-qualified man for the Presidency—but that does not mean any endorsement in this campaign."

A party which, on the criterion of excellence, deliberately chooses its second—or third or fourth or fifth—best—may well discover that its strategy misfires even in the short run. Bad strategy (and, one may suggest, even good strategy) is a poor substitute for excellence in philosophy. And in the long run, with its alienation of those of principle and of sensitivity, the party very probably will find that its moral strength and even its political power, like its honor, have ebbed away.

The costs of the loss of Stevenson are certain and heavy, and the hurt goes deep. It is more than enough to make one weep, and many weep.

Even if Stevenson's substitute—the word galls and grates—fulfills the most enthusiastic estimate of his potentialities, the Stevensonian still will be only partially mollified. For this need not have been the substitute's year, as it had to be Stevenson's. There was time enough for this young man: he could have waited, if need be, four or five more conventions. There was time for him to learn of virtues other than ambition and efficiency, of goals other than power and self-gratification, of means other than money and ruthlessness. And there was time for him to demonstrate that he is capable of growth in humility, in wisdom, and in compassion.

His most conspicuous characteristics appear to be that he is unusually young, unusually wealthy, possessed of an unusually well-developed jungle instinct for survival and gain, and a Catholic in a world whose primary socio-economic problem probably is population expansion. Even his assets seem in danger of perversion into liabilities: his confidence borders on arrogance, his powers of concentration and dedication are channeled into a single-minded objective of personal aggrandizement.

But why a substitute, good or bad, at all? In 1952 and 1956, Stevenson led the battle with effectiveness and suffered his wounds (from supposed friend as well as avowed foe), as he now bears his scars, with gallantry. A monstrous timing of fate, immediately following Truman and twenty years of Democratic rule and coincidentally with the weird emergence of Eisenhower, doomed this splendid man. And now, when opportunities for victory are vastly greater, the party unlamentingly turns to another. It does not ease the pain to refer knowingly and patronizingly to "the hard political facts of life."

The Democratic Party has made its abominable decision. I shall neither forget it nor forgive it. And I am not alone.

WILLIAM R. ALLEN
Department of Economics
University of California
Los Angeles, Calif.

The Campaign

Dear Sirs:

May it not be long before *The Progressive* in general and Milton Mayer in particular get over their sour grapes skepticism about the Kennedy victory in Los Angeles. The public gets enough of this caliber of comment from columnist David Lawrence and his ilk.

Before the convention, I had no strong preference among the leading Democratic hopefuls. I too began rooting for Stevenson when I saw the demonstrations and heard Eugene McCarthy's brilliant plea. But Jack Kennedy's message on the final day both surprised me with its quality and inspired me with its message, and I am satisfied that he is a first-rate candidate.

If Adlai Stevenson had entered one primary and defeated Kennedy, he could have had the nomination. But he didn't, and his comparative lack of desire and enthusiasm for the office made a valid argument for turning to another man with a more positive approach. Ambition is not wrong in itself; on the contrary, it is usually a prerequisite to success. It can also, on occasion, go hand in hand with high moral purpose, certain cynics notwithstanding.

Now, after again watching Mr. Nixon

"stand up" to Khrushchev with the mature, diplomatically-phrased expression, "You don't know everything, you know," and after hearing his dismal acceptance speech, tailored for the stubborn, the sluggish, and the self-satisfied, if *The Progressive* does not believe that our best hope lies with this political chameleon, then let it do its part to bring true ability to the White House in the person of Jack Kennedy. After all, how else will we get Adlai Stevenson as our Secretary of State, where he may yet become a prophet with honor?

JOHN CHAPPELL, JR.
Topeka, Kans.

Dear Sirs:

The betrayal at Los Angeles has left me greatly disheartened. I cannot bring myself to vote for Richard Nixon, but the crude rejection of Adlai Stevenson has cooled my support for the Democrats.

JAMES WILSHIRE
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Sirs:

I had considered *The Progressive* the outstanding spokesman for the American liberal. I had seen a rational and well-informed political analysis presented from month to month in your journal. Therefore I was deeply disappointed with your inclusion of Mr. Mayer's article, "The Big Word Was 'Win'" in the September issue.

I, with all Democrats—Kennedy, Johnson, and Symington supporters included—joined in the tribute to Stevenson, our party's patriarch, during the convention. But while in Los Angeles, I viewed something Mr. Mayer obviously did not. The Democrats loved Adlai Stevenson, but they had had two "glorious defeats" at the polls with him as their candidate. The American people had suffered an immense setback in world stature and internal progress from the Eisenhower Administration. We had all been two-time losers and could not afford another "glorious defeat." We, therefore, nominated John Kennedy, the man who this coming January will bring the liberal philosophy back to the White House.

STEPHEN SHEFLER
Phoenix, Ariz.

Dear Sirs:

I was pretty furious with the Democrats when they rejected Adlai Stevenson and thought I might sit this one out, but after listening to the unctuous acceptance speech of Vice President Nixon I decided I could not afford not to support the obviously superior choice. It will be a long time, though, before I get over what the Democrats did at Los Angeles.

ELLEN WALLACE
Washington, D.C.

I can swallow Kennedy as a candidate, but I don't expect to enjoy the experience. You were right when you suggested that there is something too cool and detached about him.

GEORGE E. MEYER
Cleveland, Ohio

During the primary campaign in our state I was warned by my friends who were supporting Kennedy that I had better take him or I might be stuck with Lyndon Johnson. I fell for this line—and got both. It was a great tragedy that we do not have Adlai Stevenson to head the ticket in these most trying times.

PAUL BRINKER
Portland, Ore.

I think many of us will be a long time getting over the refusal of the Democrats to choose Adlai Stevenson. He was so clearly the man we need at this time of crisis that I cannot understand why he received so little support at the Convention. If the choice had been with the people instead of with the politicians, Stevenson would be our candidate today.

MARIE BURNS
Denver, Colo.

The fact that you were for Adlai Stevenson is no excuse for what you published in your August issue. I am a Protestant, and I was for John F. Kennedy from the very first because of his principles. You are wrong to refer to his "seeming detachment." The whole Democratic ticket is strong and good.

MILDRED H. BIFFAR
Evanston, Ill.

Kennedy is the man to defeat Nixon. He is not a dilettante like Stevenson, whom I admire very much. I can't see Nixon in the White House, because I have always held that office in great respect, and Nixon is on a level far below it.

R. H. BARNES
Uncasville, Conn.

Thanks for your splendid support of Adlai Stevenson. It is tragic that the logic and spirit of your July issue editorial did not dominate the Democratic convention. It seems to me that when the Democratic Party refused to nominate Stevenson, it repudiated itself as the best embodiment of Jeffersonian liberalism in our generation.

ERNEST W. THACKER
Van Nuys, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

It is all over now, the shouting and the tumult of both Democratic and Republican Conventions. We can go back to the make-believe of TV shadows where a play is clearly labeled but a play, and a game is only a game, not a great democratic procedure of government in "a free nation."

I could have forecast the two Presidential candidates. They were men of my worst fears. I have no choice between them. Together, they have robbed me of my right to vote.

ERNESTINE W. BREHMER
Sheboygan, Wis.

Dear Sirs:

I think you deserve great praise for your endorsement of Adlai Stevenson for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Your phrase, "opportunity for greatness," was particularly well-chosen. The Democrats missed that opportunity, and that failure is a black mark on their record which they will be a long time erasing. I think they will discover that it is not so easy to elect a second-rate candidate President as it was to nominate him.

JAMES NORVELL
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sirs:

After what happened in Los Angeles, it was amusing to read in the July *Progressive* that the Socialist Party saw some hope in the Democratic Party if it rid itself of the racists, the corrupt big-city bosses, "the die-hard cold-warriors," and the enemies of labor. It is now said that the Old Guard is finished, and a new regime started. Yes, but the same breed. And how apparent it was at the convention that the liberal Democrats who attached themselves to Senator John F. Kennedy did so in self-interest. It will be interesting to see if and how they will be rewarded.

A. SCHMITZ
New York, N.Y.

Mayer Misinformed

Dear Sirs:

In his recent article on the Germanys, Milton Mayer wrote: "There are no former Nazis in high public office in the . . . German Democratic Republic. None." This statement is vital to Mr. Mayer's entire point of view.

The *Manchester Guardian* for May 15 contains a most enlightening article on "Nazis in Office in East Germany." It shows a number of Nazis in high office in East Germany,

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including Hans Reichelt as minister of agriculture and Curt Merkel as minister of supply. In addition, Werner Winkler, a former Nazi, is on the State Planning Commission.

In the judiciary, Dr. Kurt Schumann is president of the East German High Court and Seigfried Dallmann is chairman of the Judicial Affairs Committee of the East German Volkskammer. They are former Nazis.

In education, the rectors of East Berlin and Griefswald Universities and the rector of the Teacher Training College in Potsdam are former Nazis.

Mr. Mayer was certainly misinformed.

W. W. Jones
Arrah, Bihar, India

China Demands Taiwan

Dear Sirs:

I write as an American woman living and working here in Peking. Articles and editorials in *The Progressive* during the past year have supported "closer relations with mainland China," but have argued that this "need not mean that we abandon Formosa." This is utterly ridiculous, for Taiwan (not "Formosa") is part of China. The Chinese assert this daily, in their press, on the radio, and on their maps, and the children sing in school that Taiwan is part of "the sacred soil of China," now forcefully occupied by American imperialist forces.

The Chinese do not seek American recognition; they are doing very well without it. Moreover, one seldom hears mention of the United Nations, except for its antagonism toward China—for example, its branding of China as "an aggressor." But one point that is emphasized again and again and is felt in every fiber of the being of the people is that Taiwan is part of the motherland. Editors of *The Progressive* may not like this, but the fact remains.

No matter how willing the United States may come to be to recognize China, China will never recognize the United States until U.S. armed forces are withdrawn from Taiwan, and Taiwan is once more united politically and spiritually with the rest of China.

Dorothy Fischer
People's University
Peking, China

Dear Sirs:

I was greatly interested in Karl Meyer's July issue article, "Freshmen Ferment in An Old House," and especially his report of the foreign policy paper prepared by James P. Warburg. Mr. Warburg shows his usual deep understanding and masterly treatment of foreign affairs. But in one detail he makes an astonishing slip. That is in his proposal for disposition of the Taiwan problem. It must be clear to anyone who studies the problem that the Chinese will be satisfied with nothing short of the complete restoration of Taiwan to the sovereignty of the motherland. Any compromise of the kind suggested by Mr. Warburg is a waste of words.

Ralph E. Blount
Wilmette, Ill.

Cruel Punishment

Dear Sirs:

Bernard Goldfine, whose favors to Sherman Adams forced Adams to leave his position of influence in the White House, was sentenced to the Federal prison at Danbury, Connecticut, for three months for contempt.

The same charge of contempt was placed against Dr. Willard Uphaus of New Haven, churchman, scholar, and pacifist. But Uphaus was jailed by a New Hampshire court for one year. U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Brennan said there was "'no evidence" against Dr. Uphaus, who had refused to cooperate with a New Hampshire one-man investigating committee using the technique of "guilt by association," and had declined to inform on registered guests at "World Fellowship," a camp in Conway, New Hampshire, of which he was director.

It looks like one treatment for the rich and another for the poor.

Anyone like myself who has observed how New Hampshire authorities have tightened the thumb-screws each month on Dr. Uphaus must cry out in protest against such "cruel and unusual punishment." In my experience as a pastor I have called on persons guilty of murder who were given better treatment than is accorded this mild-mannered sixty-nine-year-old pacifist. Never before have I, as a clergyman, been refused an opportunity to see a prisoner because "he has already had four visitors this week." Never before have I had to stand out of doors and wait for my chance. Never before has wire-screening prevented me from shaking hands with the person I called upon. Never before has there been a listening guard stationed to hear every word I would say.

As a New Englander I feel shame and chagrin. Goldfine, the millionaire who would corrupt public servants: three months in a modern prison. Uphaus, present-day prototype of Gandhi, friend of all humanity: one year in an antiquated county jail, most of the time in solitary confinement.

Rev. Loyd F. Worley
The First Methodist Church
Hartford, Conn.

Courageous Congressmen

Dear Sirs:

"Freshmen Ferment in an Old House," in the July issue is the most heartening article I have read for a long, long time. Even though they are comparatively few in number, it is encouraging that eleven Congressmen are using their heads and are courageous enough to stand for their convictions. May their tribe increase.

Gladys B. Harger
Lansing, Mich.

Defends WILPF

Dear Sirs:

Elsie Johnson's letter in the August *Progressive* raises questions about the objectivity of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom's view of world affairs. In particular, she questions WIL's action about the Hungarian situation in 1956, an action she considers ineffectual and weak, implying less concern about Soviet aggression than about continuing colonialism. However, many of us active in WIL do not see the organization's action as either weak or lacking in objectivity.

WIL policy advocates all possible use of the United Nations machinery for investigating international situations, especially to assess a complex situation such as Hungary which is not admissible of a simple answer. Of course Soviet guns and tanks in Hungary were cruel; so were Israeli, Egyptian, French, and English shootings at Suez.

An organization which incorporates "for Peace" in its name automatically takes the stand that the use of guns and tanks is cruel and wrong. The simple wording of the WIL statement (a request that the UN proceed with its investigation of the Hungarian situation) may itself be a measure of WIL's attempt to be objective: the request is a way of asking for information on which to make an objective judgment. It in no way implies lack of opposition to the cruelty of fighting.

Jean Wiley
Madison, Wis.

Dear Sirs:

It saddens some of us in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to know that our former friend, Elsie Johnson, still feels enmity toward us. We have always respected the right of anyone to disagree with us, and try to point out that although we take great pains to satisfy minority opinion among our members, we feel that, as in this case, majority vote should decide our policy. It is hardly fair for her to sit in judgment on us, since she has not been present at any of our deliberations for several years, having left us at the height of the McCarthy era.

There is so much of recrimination, so much of the holier-than-thou philosophy, so much hatred, so much deliberate misunder-

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Madison, Wisconsin

standing, abroad in the world today, that some of us prefer to try to find solutions to problems rather than to waste our time denouncing this country or that. Under our traditional system of government by the people as well as of and for the people, we feel it our duty to exercise our rights in an effort to influence our own government.

We continue to be convinced that without peace there can be no freedom, and without freedom there can be no peace. Jane Addams continues to be a shining example to us of what it means to hold a minority view with its implications of being totally misunderstood rather than to conform to situations which seem to us to abridge that freedom and to threaten that peace.

ELIZABETH WEIDEMAN
Dearborn, Mich.

Policy on South Africa

Dear Sirs:

"Sanctions Against South Africa," by George Shepherd, Jr., in the June *Progressive*, refers to the difficulties involved in forming a United States policy of pressure against the South African government that will force it to abandon apartheid. I respectfully suggest four steps that the United States could take:

1. Leave the leadership in this matter at the United Nations to a nation which has no racial problem.
2. Abstain for the time being from participation in criticism of, or sanctions against, South Africa.
3. Begin at once the application of the full powers of the Federal administration and Congress to achieving complete desegregation in the South.
4. Then, when American Negroes have been assured complete equality with whites in every state in the Union, if apartheid has not meanwhile been abandoned in South Africa, join again in the United Nations' efforts to secure equality for the eleven million segregated South Africans.

MAJOR A. C. THORN
Montreal, Canada

Disputes Peretz on Nasser

Dear Sirs:

I have just read the review by Don Peretz in the July issue of Emil Lengyel's *The Changing Middle East*. I feel strongly opposed to Mr. Peretz' defense of Colonel Nasser and to his totally unacceptable criticism of Mr. Lengyel's opinions.

The Changing Middle East is an honest attempt to describe the developments which took place in the last decade in the Middle East, with special emphasis on the difficulties and problems created by Nasserism. For some as yet unexplained reasons most of the writers on the Middle East in recent years have tended to underplay the subversive role which Nasser has played in the last five years and the damage which this movement is causing Western positions in that area. Mr. Lengyel should only be commended for his courage to call a spade a spade.

Colonel Nasser is a dictator; he is the man who opened the back door of the Middle East to Soviet penetration; he undermines Western positions in Africa and in Asia; and he is the man responsible for the upheavals and dissension in the Arab world. These are historical facts which cannot be denied. It is astonishing that Mr. Peretz should consider this book as unfair or not objective.

C. B. MORSE
Washington, D.C.

Fears Government

Dear Sirs:

Senator Joseph Clark asks in the July *Progressive*, "Why is it that so many Americans are afraid of our national government?" David Riesman also shares this puzzlement. I should like to explain the sources of my own personal fear of the state.

I believe that whenever the government does anyone a "favor," some attempt will be made to wrest from him a portion of his freedom. If he wants to work as a federal civil servant he must swear that he is not a member of any organization on the Attorney-General's list, or explain the circumstances of such membership. If he is inducted into the army he must also do so and faces allegations of disloyalty if he claims Federal constitutional privilege. To get a loan under the National Defense Education Act a student must sign an oath. If a union wishes to use the National Labor Relations Board, its officers must all execute non-Communist affidavits. All over the country those who were using or wished to use public housing were submitted to the indecency of executing non-subversive affidavits. Until recently passport applicants had to swear an oath. A loyalty oath is required to graduate from New York City high schools.

I don't wish to imply that Senator Clark has any wicked schemes up his sleeve; but I do feel that fear of the government has sturdy justification.

DANIEL W. BURNS
Evanston, Ill.

'Some of My Best Friends'

Dear Sirs:

Today I received your reminder that my subscription expires with the next issue. I must admit that I have enjoyed many of your articles and features, and that I agree with many of them.

However, your running fight against us here in the South regarding matters about which we know more than you could ever assimilate does not set well, so take me off your list.

Some of my best friends here belong to the Negro race, but mostly they are those who have lived long enough to realize that the U.S. Supreme Court cannot, over night, change more than a hundred years of tradition.

I talk to many of these older and wiser colored men and women, and have written many feature articles regarding their achievements in our community. These people hate what is going on. It is mostly the smart aleck younger Negroes, goaded by the NAACP, who are causing most of the trouble. We have had none of that trouble in our county.

The Supreme Court decision has only succeeded in causing hatred among the races in some places in the South. Thinking Negroes do not like what the decision has done to their former good relations with the white race.

I find that there is as much—or more—race discrimination in the North, East, and West as there is in the South. However, the South has to be the scapegoat for do-gooders.

Why don't you send somebody down here who is not biased in one direction, a person with an open and reasonable mind, who would be able to report on the situation objectively and not on a one-sided basis?

We are not perfect, but we are better friends of the Negro than you are.

JOSEPH J. WILSON
Plant City, Fla.

Examine the Arms Race

Dear Sirs:

In view of Senator Joseph S. Clark's awareness (July *Progressive*) of the "present dangerously delicate balance of terror," of his defining the ultimate objective not as "maintenance of an East-West power balance in an ever-accelerating and ever-more-dangerous arms race"—but as "international agreements which will prevent the use of, and eventually eliminate . . . weapons," of his concession that "the best deterrent could not give us security," one cannot help but wonder—and be not a little dismayed—at his assertion: "America's military capability must be strengthened to offset growing Communist . . . might. We are in an arms race . . . it would be folly to forget it." Coming at the end of an otherwise stirring manifesto, this was a precipitate letdown!

Does the answer lie in an accelerated arms build-up? Is there really a greater risk in the opposite direction? Isn't it time to examine this arms race—time that we recognize that Communist armed might isn't "growing" in a vacuum, that it is, perhaps, pretty much in response to our own policies and actions? Isn't it time to examine closely all our cold-war postures? Isn't it time for a grand re-appraisal? Can't we break loose from the chains of our own propaganda and dogma?

THOMAS BRODERICK
Schenectady, N.Y.

Appeal for Castro's Cuba

Dear Sirs:

A few students here at Stanford University have formed a Cuban Defense Committee, with the purpose of spreading the truth about the Cuban revolution and arguing for its support.

As concerned Americans we deplore recent actions taken by the American government against the people of Cuba and their revolution. There is now an almost intentional campaign to distort what is actually happening in Cuba.

We appeal to the American people to support the enthusiastic and inspired drive of the Cuban people and their leader Fidel Castro towards social justice and economic progress. Cuba has the opportunity of becoming the most meaningful society in Latin America. The Castro government is working

for the welfare of the Cuban people. The Cuban revolution has wide support throughout Latin America, especially among the people.

Anyone who would like to help may write to Lawrence Shumm, Coordinator, Cuban Defense Committee, Box 7064, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

LAWRENCE SHUMM
Stanford, Calif.

Voting Rights Solution

Dear Sirs:

A practical approach is needed to the question of voting rights for Negroes in the South. Most Negroes cannot vote, and Congress is paralyzed by the Senate's unwillingness to make laws which will alter the situation. The remedy for such Congressional failure is a Constitutional amendment adopted by the states or by the people.

Consider the following amendment: The Senate shall seat no more than one Senator from any state in which less than half the persons of voting age are registered; or in which less than half the registered voters cast valid votes for U.S. Senator.

Where a given state refused Negroes the vote in large numbers, that state would lose one of its Senators. This would reduce the number of Senators who deliberately block the exercise of the vote by large groups back home. It would thus reduce opposition in the Senate to practical civil rights legislation, and result in laws designed actually to protect civil rights. This in its turn would bring back the vote to the states which had barred it, and bring back that state's Senators to the Senate, elected, now, by a majority of the voters, rather than by a minority dedicated to barring the franchise from others. It would thus be a simple and direct way of solving the problem.

HERBERT HARVEY
Spring Valley, N. Y.

Hoping for Sanity

Dear Sirs:

With such astronomical sums of money being expended on missiles and other fantastic developments to see what is on the other side of the moon, many of us are desperately hoping for a new foreign policy of sanity, based on realistic solutions of world problems, rather than on the hysterical effort to keep ahead of the U.S.S.R. in outer space.

As one of our statesmen has said: "We are now in a world crisis of great dimensions, and need sound and wise guidance. But the critical problems facing us will never be solved in the stratosphere—they are fundamental and should be attacked right here on earth before attempting to outdo Russia in nuclear weapons."

We here in California are too pressed for funds to provide adequate transportation, smog-riddance, and decent education, but huge appropriations for destructive weapons and experimentation in moon rockets must go on, it seems. Will we ever grow up?

FRANCES W. SHIPPEY
Los Angeles, Calif.

BOOKS

Magnificent Vision

BEYOND THE WELFARE STATE, by Gunnar Myrdal. Yale University Press. 287 pp. $4.50.

Reviewed by

Horace M. Gray

BEYOND THE already achieved welfare state of the West looms the vision of a welfare world yet to be created. Between the two, however, lies a vast uncharted sea where the wild storms of nationalism, revolution, and contending ideologies rage, and upon which Western man embarks only at deadly peril. Yet the spirit calls him and he must go. Driven by the inner compulsion of his idealism, and clad in the armor of rationality, he must venture to those lands where men dwell in darkness and poverty. He must approach them not as a conqueror or exploiter but as a friend bearing the Promethean gift of the welfare state to enrich their lives.

Skeptics and realists may regard Gunnar Myrdal's universal welfare as a Utopian dream, an earthly City of God, which never was nor can be. He recognizes this possibility and concedes the formidable difficulties but, sustained by an unfaltering trust in democracy and human rationality, he boldly launches his ship on this fateful quest and bids his followers to be of good cheer. Even confirmed doubters can scarcely escape the contagion of his courage and optimism.

What is this welfare state which he would universalize, which, like, Prometheus, he would bestow upon all mankind as a gift from the West? Clearly, it is a "planned society," but only in a special sense. Myrdal rejects both the polarized extremes of a free market economy and of Marxian total planning. He shows how by piecemeal, pragmatic state intervention to solve particular problems, and subsequently by coordination of such interventions to achieve balance, the nations of the West have gradually transformed capitalism into a system which functions in accordance with the majority interests of all the citizens. Such planning is rationalistic and pragmatic, not deterministic; partial, not complete; flexible, not rigid. It calls for coordination of all public policies toward welfare ends.

Structurally, Myrdal's welfare state comprises a variety of operating entities—public, corporate, individual, and cooperative. Power is widely decentralized among subordinate organizations such as federal, provincial, and municipal authorities, private business corporations and associations, cooperatives, labor unions, and consumer groups. These organizations have gradually assumed more and more power until today they are responsible for much of the economic decision making. The functions of the central government are to maintain balance and harmony within the system, to restrain excesses, and to direct the economy toward welfare ends. The harmony thus realized is not the old "liberal" or "natural" harmony of a free market economy; rather, it is a "created harmony" achieved by rational state intervention and planned coordination. In Myrdal's view, this is the modern democratic form of economic organization in the West, already attained by some, partially attained by others, and the ultimate goal of all.

The welfare state, despite its success at internal integration, has one serious defect—it is nationalistic, protectionistic, and introverted. Emphasis on short-run welfare goods and on

the protection of national interest groups renders it indifferent or even hostile to the world economy. As a consequence, the world economy has disintegrated steadily since World War I; the rich nations of the West have become richer while the poor nations, in the non-Soviet sector, have become poorer. The economic disparity between the two has become so pronounced as to generate a revolutionary crisis. If the underdeveloped nations cannot satisfy the demands and expectations of their people through advantageous economic relations with the West they will in desperation resort to totalitarian methods. If the West would save itself, and serve both its self-interest and its democratic ideals, it must cast aside its nationalism and assist the poorer nations toward economic development. In short, it must help them create welfare states appropriate to their needs and circumstances. By so doing the West could universalize the welfare state and create a welfare world.

Myrdal thinks a "created harmony" can be achieved in the world economy by application of the same rational coordination of public policies which has proven so successful at the national level. The main problem is to stimulate the flow of capital and technology from the West into the underdeveloped countries to modernize their agriculture, build up their public capital and social services, and get local industries started. Capital grants and technical assistance, while important, can never be more than palliatives unless the basic trade policies of the West are changed. He calls for unilateral removal of trade barriers by the West, elimination of unfair trading practices by private business, commodity stabilization agreements, international control of industrial and shipping cartels, restoration of the international capital market, and special inducements to stimulate the flow of capital into the underdeveloped countries. The West, he thinks, must become reconciled to large measures of nationalization, protectionism, and state control by these countries during the early stages of development.

Myrdal's universalism, though noble in conception, has a quality of unreality about it, largely because of his admitted penchant for "huge generalizations." Does the West, as he assumes, really possess a *true* welfare state—i.e., one directed to welfare ends? Except perhaps for the Scandinavian countries, it does not. The general pattern of economic organization in the West, and especially in the United States, is state-protected, monopoly capitalism, supplemented by varying amounts of state enterprise, cooperative enterprise, free competition, and welfare provisions. Welfare, as such, is a mere appendage of monopoly capitalism, not an end in itself or a determinant of either private or public policy. Thus, neither in respect to structure, motivation, or policy can such a system properly be described as a welfare state; it reflects mercantilistic and monopolistic rather than welfare and humanitarian motivations.

A mixed economy of this character, as Western experience demonstrates, can be productive, powerful, and rich, and it may yield adventitiously substantial increments of welfare, but the latter is no part of its basic purpose. To assume, as Myrdal does, that a system so organized and motivated can, if transplanted, meet the urgent humanitarian needs of underdeveloped countries defies credulity. If the West would universalize the welfare state it must first create one, not attempt to palm off its present system onto others.

When he comes to consider policy prescriptions, Myrdal's "huge generalization" respecting the nature of the welfare state rises to plague him and sow confusion. He attributes the tragic indifference and failures of the West to the introverted, nationalistic character of the welfare state. This is quite misleading; it is the mercantilistic, protectionistic, monopolistic elements in his amorphous welfare state which are responsible for these failures, not the welfare or humanitarian elements. It is the pernicious spirit of monopoly which has disintegrated the world economy and frustrated all constructive efforts toward reintegration. Monopoly capitalism is the Achilles heel of the West in all its relations with the underdeveloped countries. No one understands this more clearly or exploits it with more devastating effect than the Communists. The bitter proof of Myrdal's confusion on this score is that his policy prescriptions are all approvable on welfare grounds but not a single one of them is acceptable to the monopoly capitalism of the West.

This conflict between monopoly and welfare may eventually be resolved if Myrdal's theory of social evolution operates as he predicts. Governments, under public pressure to maximize welfare, may assume greater responsibility for the planning and direction of the economy toward welfare ends. They may eliminate monopoly and thus facilitate the emergence of a true welfare state, which will replace the mongrel form now extant. Only then will the West be free to fulfill its mission of promoting universal welfare. Myrdal's magnificent vision can become a reality only if the West can solve its monopoly problem.

Turbulent Years

THE CIO CHALLENGE TO THE AFL. A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, 1935-1941, by Walter Galenson. Harvard University Press. 732 pp. $9.75.

Reviewed by

Jack Barbash

SEGMENT by segment the full story of labor's turbulent years under the New Deal is being pieced together by the scholars. The seminal period in the development of the modern labor movement is the 1935-1941 period which Walter Galenson has now exposed to detailed investigation. It is the period in which the American labor movement threw over the traces of the big sleep of the 1920's and moved in to organize mass production industry. This is the period, too, in which the unions established themselves as major power centers in the society.

Galenson's great contribution to an understanding of the unions' new role is that he digs into the historical raw material of the times, industry by industry, to come out with the salient characteristics of each situation. Too much of labor history has been written as if an entity called the AFL encounters an entity called the CIO, and much of the written labor history of this period is of this kind—AFL vs.

CIO. But this period has meant much more than AFL vs. CIO. And it is this delineation of the full thrust of the conflict that makes for the superior quality of Galenson's performance. He explores almost all of the major industrial situations in detail and with insight.

Galenson covers both the new organizing situations and the renaissance of the older, more established unions. Among the former there are chapters on steel, auto, rubber, textile, petroleum, electrical, and lumber; among the latter, women's and men's garment industries, teamsters, machinists, building trades, printing, and railroads.

Each chapter is a self-contained monograph in its own right and contains brief accounts of the economic organization of the industry and the prior industrial relations history. The accent is on organizing history, internal union developments, and evolution of the collective bargaining relationship. There is enough intrinsic drama and pace in each of the situations so that a sense of excitement is maintained throughout.

The chief criticism I have is that Galenson fails to distil the vital essences in a broad, generalized analysis of this period. For the most part what we have here is a series of individual pieces, each of them first-rate and valuable and suggestive. Galenson fails, however, to mine from this rich detail a sense of the style and the quality of this period. There is a concluding chapter called "Some General Aspects of the Labor Movement," but it is hardly more than a clean-up job of some of the neglected tendencies, such as legislation, politics, and international affairs, and all of these are done quite cursorily.

There is no synthesis of Communist penetration, the structure and government of the labor movement, the impact of personality and the effect of NLRB doctrine. There is ample discussion of these elements as they fit into the specifics of each case. What is lacking is a breadth of treatment and analysis which would pull together the quality of this seminal period in the development of the American labor movement. For example, Galenson says, "looking backward, there can be very little doubt that trade unionism has had profound effects on the performance of the American economy," but nowhere does he spell out by way of generalization what the "profound effects" were. I think, too, that the role of personality in the 1935-1941 resurgence could have been dealt with in a more imaginative way.

But all of these are minor criticisms in terms of the rich storehouse of material that Galenson has provided. He has made it easier for the generalizer to move in.

New World Leaders

LEADERS OF NEW NATIONS, by Leonard S. Kenworthy. Doubleday. 336 pp. $3.95.

Reviewed by

Elton Atwater

AGAINST THE rising crescendo of African nationalism, this book provides pertinent and useful information. Written in an extremely readable, interesting style, it presents the stories of fourteen men who have led their respective countries to independence since World War II, or are regarded as perhaps the most important leaders in their countries. Three of the sketches deal with men of Africa—Bourguiba of Tunisia, King Mohammed V of Morocco, and Nkrumah, the recently elected President of Ghana. Four come from the Middle East—Ben-Gurion of Israel, King Hussein of Jordan, Jinnah of Pakistan, and Nasser of Egypt. Seven are leaders of new states in Asia—Ngo Diem of Vietnam, Magsaysay of the Philippines, Nehru of India, U Nu of Burma, Rahman of Malaya, Senanayake of Ceylon, and Sukarno of Indonesia.

At the time the book was completed, a little more than a year ago, it would have been difficult to believe that by mid-1960, seven new states in Africa would have attained full independence, with at least another two or three certain to become free in the latter part of the year. The violent birth-pangs of the Congo, which are filling the headlines at the time this review is written, are illustrative of the rapid and perhaps overzealous haste with which some of the new African states are coming into their own.

Leonard S. Kenworthy, who is professor of education at Brooklyn College, has long been concerned with the lack of conveniently accessible reading material on the non-Western peoples of Asia and Africa. As a teacher concerned with preparing our young people for the kind of world in which they will be living in the late Twentieth and early Twenty-first Centuries, he has devoted many years to collecting or writing readable stories of the peoples and cultures of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Many readers will remember an earlier volume of his, *Twelve Citizens of the World,* which presented the biographies of a series of world-minded leaders who have contributed much to building the conditions for a world community of justice and peace.

In preparing the present volume, Kenworthy in 1957-1958 traveled through Asia and Africa, interviewing almost all of the political leaders with whom he was concerned. The result is a piece of writing which blends human interest with much pertinent background on the cultures, aspirations, and problems of the peoples.

As one reads the fourteen biographies, he is made vividly aware of the staggering tasks confronting the new nations and the pressure of time in dealing with them: education, the training of new leaders, internal unity and strength, economic and social development. One is also impressed by the rapid rate of educational and economic advances since independence as compared with the rate of progress under even the most enlightened colonial administrations. In all of this, the intensity of nationalist emotion is vividly portrayed.

While each of the leaders is a distinctive personality, certain common traits stand out in many cases: complete confidence in the "rightness" of their goals, a sense of historical and often philosophical perspective, ability to handle other strong personalities, courage and boldness tempered by humility, and a zealous dedication to their work.

Teachers who are looking for suitable student reading material on the new nations of the world, as well as the general reader seeking meaning in today's headlines, will find this book well worth attention.

Cossack Classic

AND QUIET FLOWS THE DON, *by* Mikhail Sholokhov. Knopf. 554 pp. $5.

THE DON FLOWS HOME TO THE SEA, by Mikhail Sholokhov. Knopf. 777 pp. $5.75.

SEEDS OF TOMORROW, by Mikhail Sholokhov. Knopf. 404 pp. $4.

Reviewed by

George Gibian

THE NEW printing of Sholokhov's *The Quiet Don* (in its English version divided into two separate volumes, under two slightly different titles) is an opportunity to reassess the value of the gigantic novel. *The Quiet Don* is a book saturated with brutality, torture, lust, bloodshed, and violence. The Reds torture and exterminate the Whites; the Whites and Greens repay them in kind.

Sholokhov took fourteen years to complete the work; it appeared serially and in four volumes between 1928 and 1940. The immense novel, now officially considered a classic in Russia, tells of the struggles and sufferings of Cossacks from before World War I through the Revolution and the Civil War. Most of the characters accept the ubiquitous pain and inhumanity as natural and inevitable. The sameness-within-variety of the novel's network of battles, campaigns, and skirmishes is punctuated by more and more brutal descriptions of executions, fighting, copulation. Striking is the general absence of thought, of any manifestation of the rational side of man. The Cossacks do not reason; the author supplies no commentary on the characters' choices.

Sholokhov's men and women are bodies inured to hardships, admirable in their endurance and strength, depressing in their love of violence and lack of reflection. The main hero, Gregor Melekhov, who spends most of the book fighting with the Reds' enemies, does experience a few moments of instinctive compassion. At one point he even intends to save the life of his opposite number, the Communist Mishka Koshevoi. But Mishka has no such scruples: without hesitation, he kills the opponents of what he considers the right cause.

The love of Aksinia and Gregor, presented as inevitable, fated, and tinged with sadness, is one of the great love stories of Twentieth Century literature. With reckless animality and disdain for consequences, it rises above all obstacles. Aksinia, even more than Gregor, carries out the most poignant (although unconscious) protest against, and triumph over, all that makes the life of human beings sad and pathetic.

We find in Sholokhov none of the psychological analysis and subtlety of nuance which were the glories of the Nineteenth Century Russian novel. But his epic work has broad scope and crude power. Although the characters, in comparison with other war novels of this century like *Farewell to Arms, Man's Fate,* and *Man's Hope,* lack even a modicum of reflective response to experience, the reader cannot help feeling pity for Sholokhov's brutalized people.

The re-issue of *The Quiet Don* is presumably the result of the current boom in translations of Russian novels, caused in part by the success of *Doctor Zhivago.* It has become fashionable to scan the history of Soviet literature for works worthy of being compared with Pasternak's novel. It seems to this reviewer that in 1960 it is still more ridiculous than it was in 1940 to consider *The Quiet Don* a work of "socialist realism," as it is officially branded in the U.S.S.R. There is in Sholokhov none of the facile, synthetic optimism or the doctrinaire preoccupation with topical themes which invalidate the countless works of Soviet "socialist realism." It might make more sense to think of both this novel and *Doctor Zhivago* not as Soviet but pre-Soviet novels: *Zhivago* as the individualistic, ruminative, anti-historical novel of the pre-1917 Russian intelligentsia, *The Quiet Don* as a primitive epic of the long-suffering Russian peasantry.

It is a pity that nothing in this reprinting of the book indicates that, as David H. Stewart pointed out after a careful collating of the original edition of the translation with the Russian text, entire chapters have been omitted, the text shortened by more than a hundred pages, and passages important to the book's artistic symmetry and thematic completeness silently dropped. Atrocities of the Whites, balancing the cruelties Sholokhov shows to have been perpetrated by the Reds, have been thinned out. The new printing of the novel was an opportunity to restore the entire text. Unfortunately, without a warning to the reader, the publishers have reprinted an abridgment, instead of a complete translation. We should be indignant if a Soviet publishing house treated an American work in this manner; let us not be any more lenient with our own standards.

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—RICHARD ROVERE, Washington correspondent of *New Yorker*

NOTE: Chapter 12, "After Peace Breaks Out," was first published in *The Progressive.*

the collectivization of agriculture. It was written in 1933; a continuation of the book recently appeared in Russia. It is to be hoped that this second volume, when Sholokhov completes it, will eventually be translated into English and published uniformly with this edition.

Gandhi of Sicily

REPORT FROM PALERMO, by Danilo Dolci. Orion Press. 310 pp. $4.

Reviewed by

Gelston McNeil

PROBABLY FEW Americans realize the incredible poverty and human degradation that exists in southern Italy. Still fewer know of the efforts of Danilo Dolci to inspire these people with new hope and vision and to lead them in building a better life for themselves and their children.

Aldous Huxley, in his introduction to *Report from Palermo*, gives us a brief glimpse of this man and his deep love of his fellowmen. He points out, "It is only by making the best of both worlds—the world of the head no less than the world of the heart—that the Twentieth Century saint can hope to be effective. Danilo Dolci is one of these modern Franciscans-with-a-degree" who is employing research and planning as well as great love and sacrifice.

When Dolci visited Sicily to study remains of beautiful temples of ancient civilizations, he was so touched by the incredible destitution he found among the masses that he gave up prospects for a successful career and an assured income in the north as an architect to live and work among the poor.

In *Report from Palermo*, Dolci is the researcher who lets the Sicilian poor whom he has interviewed in the city and countryside around Palermo picture the raw conditions of their life in their own coarse but colorful and revealing words—words that are shocking to the sensibilities of "civilized" persons even in these days of preparation for mass murder through germs and atoms. The style is simple and direct, in an able translation. Local terms are explained as they occur.

Unemployment is the central problem of Sicily, and it is on this that Dolci is centering his attention. Men frequently see jobs that are closed to them go to their small children, who labor up to twelve hours a day under hazardous conditions at pitifully low pay. Official figures show 2,100,000 persons (47.1 per cent of Sicily's total population) destitute.

From the pages of this book emerges a heart-rending picture of disease, squalor, illiteracy, hunger, and social injustice. In one slum area visited, twenty-eight homes house thirty-six families, numbering one hundred and forty-four persons, in thirty rooms. Often there are more than four persons per sleeping place. Some rooms have no windows, or a single small window looking out on a heap of human excrement on the railroad tracks. Some people have no shelter at all.

Many of Dolci's "witnesses" are ignorant and hence susceptible to the most fantastic superstitions. Many are given to banditry or prostitution as a means of survival in the moral jungle in which they live. The amazing fact is that so many of the people still hold to ideals of honesty and decency.

No one can read such a vivid portrayal of human misery without raising the question, "What can be done about it?" It remains for another of Dolci's books to be translated describing the constructive, on-going effort to ferret out the causes and lead an awakened people to find the cures.

The Gandhi-like tactics of Danilo Dolci in his "campaign for full employment" have led many people in northern Italy, and in Sweden, England, and several other countries to form committees to support his work. A similar group in Canada and the United States is just starting a "Crusade Against Poverty" (26A Devereux Street, Utica 2, N. Y.). Conditions

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described in *Report from Palermo* constitute a formidable challenge to the power of love to redeem people. This is the challenge that Dolci and his friends have taken up.

Brossard Is Back

by Susan Brady

AFTER AN eight-year silence, broken by occasional signs of life in anthologies and magazines, Chandler Brossard is finally getting off the newsstands and back into the bookstores with his third novel, *The Double View* (Dial. 188 pp. $3.50). It is a short, hard book, carefully and economically put together, and in it he develops his story of a group of New Yorkers with nightmarish clarity and dramatic force up to a smasheroo ending rivaling that of Nathaniel West's *The Day of the Locust*.

Brossard eschews the tricks of the writer in a hurry, depending instead on his own sure eye and sound ear for descriptions and dialogue. The result is vivid prose and, when the author permits the full play of his wild sense of humor, the effect is memorable as in this passage describing an incident during a performance of *Swan Lake:*

> "In this exquisitely suspended pause, this most fragile hiatus, the audience was suddenly distracted by strange wild cries coming from the back of the theater. Then, just as on the stage the archer made his great spring, they saw a bearded Negro sprinting down the aisle pursued by two ushers. One usher grabbed at the demonic figure, but pulled only his black cape off, and the Negro leaped free, looking, in his white skin-tight suit, like one of the dancers, and then as he leaped high and wildly from the grabbing hands the orchestra roared in, and it seemed to the audience, for a stricken second, that this was a maniacal addition to the ballet itself."

But whatever bizarre events he chooses to detail, Brossard never loses sight of his subject: modern, urban man who, devoid of love and faith, is cut off from God, from his fellow man, and consequently from himself. He has no past and no future. In the present, he has no identity. Prominent in Brossard's gallery of such grotesques are Margaret, a sexually aberrant heiress; Christopher Hawkins, a white Negro intellectual; Phillips, a sentimental and parasitic Jew; Harry-Eddie Brien, the commentator who doubles as a Bronx tough guy, and Shanley,, a faceless hood, "a single dealer of infinite simplicity." The only character with all his buttons is Carter Barrows, who views the world from the psycho ward of a city hospital. His wife Janine and friend Rand (also Janine's lover) are borderline cases and are, in the end, saved from destruction through the mercy of Carter, who does sometimes seem to be standing in for the Son of God.

Although *The Double View* contains numerous religious allusions, the statement of their meaning is best left to those literary theologians who cut their baby teeth on T. S. Eliot. For the rest of us, the book can stand as a rich, sharp, wondrously funny commentary on the way we live now.

Paperback Plums

RUSSIAN literature and books about Russia and her people now appear with increasing frequency in paperbacks. One publisher, Vintage Books, has started an impressive series on Russian life, history, and literature. Among the first titles of the new Vintage Russian Library are two particularly notable books—Ernest J. Simmons' *Leo Tolstoy*, a two-volume biography ($1.45 each volume) and Philip E. Mosely's *The Kremlin and World Politics* ($1.65). And here are some other good works now in print:

The Portable Russian Reader, selected, translated, and introduced by Bernard G. Guerney (Viking. $1.45)

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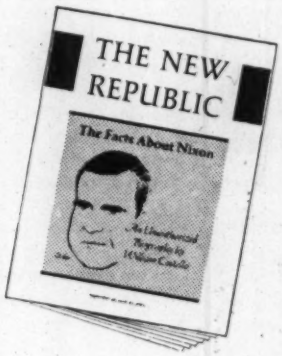

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